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HOMER AND THE ILIAD

HOMER & THE ILIAD

AN ESSAY TO DETERMINE THE SCOPE AND CHARACTER OF THE ORIGINAL POEM

BY

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HOMER AND THE ILIAD

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE fierceness and confusion of the controversy over the Iliad has become proverbial. Yet, if we could approach the poem without prejudice and take it as freshly as we can take a modern work of art, every one, I think, would be surprised, not that the controversy has been so bitter and so long, but that until the close of the eighteenth century there was so little controversy at all. For, as the Iliad comes to us, it offers the strangest mixture of unity and inconsistency, of system and dislocation. The main outline of the epic, just as it stands, is at once simple and profound, clear and subtle. Familiar as it is, we shall do well for our purpose to recall it here. At the outset we are shown the two great armies, Greek and Trojan,—both winning our sympathy,—the one fighting for honour and justice, the other for home and country. We are shown Helen, the fair woman who is at once the cause of the war and its prize; we are shown the two kings, Priam in his noble endurance, Agamemnon in his restless activity; we are shown the two champions, Achilles and Hector, both lovable and attractive to us, sworn enemies to one another.

The tale opens ominously with the fateful quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon. Passionate by nature, Achilles refuses to fight for the man who has insulted him; he withdraws from the battle with all his men, hoping that

disaster will follow his withdrawal. This hope is fulfilled; but, when the disaster actually comes, he is touched in spite of himself by the distress of his countrymen, and when his bosom friend Patroclus appeals to him for pity he relents, so far at least as to send his forces to the rescue under his friend's command. Patroclus is killed by Hector; and in a fury of remorse and revenge Achilles comes back to the war. Greek and Trojan meet at last for their mortal struggle. Achilles slays Hector, though he knows that Hector's death is the signal for his own; and blinded, as before, by passion, he refuses to give back the dead body to the Trojan's kin. The pain of the tragedy is now at its height. The mainstay of Troy has fallen; Achilles is doomed; there seems only hatred between the foes. But once more we have an appeal for pity, this time from Trojan to Greek, from the old Priam to the man who has killed his son; and once more Achilles' heart is touched; he relents, as he had relented before, and thus we are led out of the very stress of the conflict to "the high and solemn close of the whole bloody tale in tenderness and inexpiable sorrow."[1]

This is a glorious plan, but it comes to us blurred by gross inconsistencies, flat repetitions, inexplicable delays. Small wonder that the fight has been bitter between those who refuse to believe that the harmony can be due to anything but the creative genius of one mind, and those who ask how any man could have spoilt his own work by such unnecessary flaws.

The old answer was that the flaws were due to the carelessness of a great but unequal poet. "Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus." But this answer, though specious, appears unsatisfactory when we realise the nature of the flaws. Many of the worst inconsistencies occur between passages that are not only swift and brilliant, but highly-finished, and written with every appearance of care.

[1] Shelley, Letter to John Gisborne, Nov. 1820.

For instance, it is the magnificent Ninth Book (describing the futile embassy to Achilles) that conflicts with the equally fine words of Achilles himself in Book xi. and the characteristic excuses of Agamemnon in Book xix. Or else long passages, comparatively dull, such as the rally of the Greeks under Poseidon (xiii.–xv. init.), are inserted in such a way as actually to impede the natural onward movement of the tale.

Thus, in spite of the brilliant defence by Andrew Lang,[1] the theory of a single Homer to whom the whole of the Iliad is due has been gradually given up. Most scholars would admit now that the poem, as we have it, shows traces of more hands than one. Nor would they think it foolish to suppose that there was a whole cluster of great epic poets in one generation; rather the analogy of literature elsewhere would suggest that this was so. On the other hand, the "short-lay" theory is generally discredited; some strong unifying story must have been created at the very first to serve as the principle of growth. The growth is too harmonious, when all is said, the unity too great, to be accounted for in any other way. The cantos which, on a cursory view, might be supposed to build up the tale are all found on inspection to presuppose it, at least in its broader outlines.

It is not rash, therefore, to assume as a working hypothesis that our Iliad consists of an original core, a noble tale wrought by one poet, still perhaps recoverable in its entirety, but overlaid with later additions, springing out of and adjusting themselves, more or less neatly, to the primitive work. Such additions, it has been suggested,[2] arose from the demand among the eager listeners for more songs on the same theme; and such songs would be coloured by the original conception, sung in connection with the original poem, but not necessarily held to be part of it, nor sung at

[1] Even he would surrender the Doloneia in Book x.
[2] Notably by M. Croiset in his *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque.*

the same sitting, nor always consistent with it in detail. The verisimilitude of the epic narrative furnishes many starting-points for such lays; M. Croiset gives as an instance the passage where Andromache speaks of the three attacks made upon the Trojan wall, "close to the fig-tree" (Book vi. 433 ff.). As it chances, we have no song about these attacks, but how natural it might have been to ask for one! Again, the scene of the assembly in Book ii., and the proposal to return to Greece, may well have been prompted by a demand for some account of what happened during "the twelve days," between the defection of Achilles and the Greek attack in force. (See below, chap. ii.) Songs like these, when successful, would be accepted as part of their stock by the bards, and take a place in what we might call the "corpus" of the Iliad; the epic tags and formulas providing convenient links, introductions, and endings. The closeness of connection with the original would vary in varying cases; the position of each in the time-sequence would, no doubt, be indicated roughly by its nature, but some incidents, such as the night-raid of Diomede and Odysseus in Book x., might easily be taken up and dropped at will; another, such as the futile embassy to Achilles (Book ix.), might so impress the fancy that many bards and many listeners would scarcely think of the story without it. The whole process of accretion would be aided by the custom of oral publication and transmission, which seems to have been the rule in the Homeric world, whether writing was practised also or not.[1]

But another consequence would be likely to follow.

[1] Dr. Evans' wonderful discoveries have established the existence of writing in the pre-Homeric world. But this writing is as yet undeciphered, and the main evidence we have to go by is still from the poems themselves. There is no clear reference to writing in either Iliad or Odyssey. Oral publication and transmission are both suggested by the description of the intentness with which the newest song is *heard*, and by the incident of the *blind* minstrel (Od. i. 351; viii. 64). On the other hand, it is quite possible that written versions did exist, supporting memory and tradition, although accessible only to few.

In process of time there might be good cause to fear confusion, loss, and obscurity, and then would arise the desire for an authoritative version. There is, therefore, antecedent probability for some truth underlying the tradition that Peisistratus, in the sixth century B.C., found the poems scattered and confused, and had them carefully collected and arranged in a definite sequence. Discrepancies and incoherencies would, of course, be all the more manifest when old and new were thus tightly bound together. But there is nothing surprising in their being left unharmonised if we may believe, and we surely may, that by this time the whole body of the poems had come to be regarded with love and reverence as the work of a mighty past. Hebrew literature might furnish many parallels.

With such a view, so stated in general outline, I am entirely in sympathy; and I believe, moreover, that it is quite possible to disentangle the original core of the Iliad from the present mass. But the reconstructions actually proposed seem open to serious criticisms. It appears to me that certain important considerations have been overlooked, and that in their light we should discover the original to be far more like the Iliad as we have it now than has usually been supposed.

In the first place, much of the traditional poem has scarcely had a fair chance at the hands of modern critics. Scenes where the drift and bearing are not obvious at once have been cut away without further thought. But a great dramatic poem does not give up all its secrets at once. There are subtle harmonies that can only be realised clearly after long and sympathetic study: the work on Shakespeare might suffice to prove this. And Homer, like Shakespeare, can put in very important points very quietly. We may miss them, and that is our loss. The poet will not overemphasise them for our sakes. Therefore it is not enough to ask ourselves whether such and such a passage could be cut out and the story still hang together; we must ask

further whether the omission really leaves the figures as solid, the story as enthralling, the background as grand, as before. I feel sure that the full consequences of their own excisions have not always been noticed by the critics who have made them. They cannot entirely strip away the memory of the "later accretions"; there are even instances of their praising the recovered "original" for effects which could not have been obtained without the "later interpolations."

Secondly, a theory of "accretions" that is formed to account for glaring discrepancies brings, or should bring, with it a clear presumption against a certain type of excision. To cut away not only individual scenes, but all allusions to such, however numerous, however far apart, however skilfully inwoven with their context, on the plea that they were added in order to harmonise old and new, is surely to prove too much. If the need for adjustment was felt to this extent, if the adjustment was done with this delicate care, how did it ever happen that the gross blots were allowed to enter or remain? That many scholars do overlook this difficulty will be shown in detail later—for instance, in the matter of Achilles' armour. The fact is that, on any theory, it must be admitted that the Iliad, as we have it, shows, again and again, the marks of carelessness at the joints. Whole scenes and passages which do not cohere with the rest have got into the poem somehow, and have been left there. This is perfectly intelligible on a theory of loose additions, afterwards piously preserved in one block without any attempt at elaborate harmonising between old and new; but a critical theory that assumes, throughout the growth and the editing, a constant union of gross carelessness and minute care is liable to just the same objection as the old theory of a great but negligent poet. It will not stand the test of thinking out in detail. We shall find ourselves in as much difficulty as before if it is really impossible to confine

the work of our supposed "diaskeuasts" within narrow limits, if we have to go far beyond the introduction of those few connecting lines and passages that would become necessary when the whole mass of the poems was made strictly continuous. But I believe there is no need to go beyond these limits, no need for the highly complex theories of dove-tailing and interweaving that are so common in the writings of the critical school. Inspection will show, I believe, that the vast majority of the additions to the original Iliad are of the nature of "cadenzas" in music—strains of melody, brief or long, good or bad, that start from the main theme and return to it and can be dropped out of it without disturbing the rest of its texture.[1]

It seems worth while, then, to examine and re-examine with these points in mind both the poem itself and the reconstruction that holds the field. That reconstruction is very brief. The original poem is supposed to contain only the quarrel and its sequel in Book i., the rout of the Greeks in xi., the sending of Patroclus, his death, the return of Achilles, and the slaying of Hector (parts of xv.–xxii.). This view (which goes back in its main features to Grote) has been advocated in England with great ability by Dr. Leaf,[2] and it appears also to have received the approval of Jebb. And the general presuppositions that underlie such expansional theories have been worked out with singular skill and persuasiveness by Professor Murray in his "Rise of the Greek Epic." There is much, of course, in the work of all three scholars that I thankfully accept, but I wish to plead for the inclusion in the original Iliad of much that they omit. In particular I would urge the retention of Books xxiii. and xxiv.

[1] There are, of course, on any theory a certain number of purely mistaken interpolations, such as l. 45 in II. xxiv., the comment on *aidôs*, or l. 558 in the same book (bracketed by Monro). But almost every classical author suffers from such disfigurements as these.

[2] "Companion to the Iliad": Edition of the Iliad (2 vols.).

In what follows I shall refer to Dr. Leaf as the protagonist, because his statement is so detailed, and it is on detail that my argument turns. For convenience' sake I shall call his proposed "original" by the name of the "Menis" or "Wrath of Achilles," although it is true that some scholars consider it essentially an Iliad and not an Achilleid. This, by the way, is perhaps an instance where the memory of the traditional poem still influences, and unduly, those who have, in theory, given it up. Our old Iliad is charged with the majesty of Troy's greatness and doom; but where can this be found in the brief "Wrath of Achilles"?

My aim throughout is to urge that the poem thus curtailed, far from being an artistic whole, is essentially a fragment, calling at every point, and especially at the end, for something more, if it is to be, as a poem, really intelligible, alive for the imagination and the heart. It appears to me that scene after scene, placed in this unnatural isolation, loses incalculably in depth and value, alike whether we consider the total general impression, or the special characteristics of the detail. For instance, Hector's last stand before the city (Book xxii.) is infinitely more pathetic if we have learnt to think of him as the husband of Andromache (Book vi.); while, in view of his chivalrous nature, the idea of surrendering Helen to save his own life is little short of unintelligible, unless we remember that she is forfeit by the terms of the duel in iii. Again, the struggle on the battlefield in xi. is far more interesting as a whole if we have come to realise what the heroes are fighting for; the individual heroes themselves are hardly more than names to us if we must pass at once to this Book from Book i., whereas they are living beings whom we know and admire if we have iii. and iv. and vi. to instruct us. Again and again individual touches occur in the "Menis" which, if we are confined to the "Menis," appear to have no bearing on the situation,

remain barren and irrelevant within its petty scope, but start into vivid life once we put them into connection with some passage now expunged as "late." Such is the reference to Achilles' mercy in xi. (104–106); such is the vision of youthful love that passes before Hector's mind in xxii. (126–128). These are but fragmentary illustrations. Detailed study is necessary to show how incessant and intimate is the connection between the "Menis" and certain of the supposed additions, a connection that cannot be explained unless we admit that the latter influenced, and influenced profoundly, the entire structure of the former. The natural inference from that admission must be that both are by the same hand. If it is suggested that later poets may have remodelled an early "Menis" in the light of the subsequent additions, I answer that such a suggestion gives up the basis on which the argument for the proposed "Menis" stands. The fundamental contention has usually been that this "poem" can be distinguished from the rest as a relatively independent whole, self-contained, and perceptibly different in spirit and character. If this position is abandoned, there seems no adequate reason to suppose the existence of any such "Menis" at all. For I hope to show (in c. ix.) that the supplementary argument drawn from the assumed "lateness" of style and language in Books xxiii. and xxiv. is equally baseless. Songs, sagas, poetic matter, traditions of all kinds, no doubt lie behind every part of our Iliad, even the earliest, but it does not in the least follow that there was ever an early poem such as the one proposed to us, starting with the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, and ending with the unredeemed ferocity shown by Achilles to Hector. Certainly if such there ever was, it has been remodelled from top to bottom. On the other hand, I do believe that an early version of the Iliad not only did exist, but is still in existence, and can be discovered on a fair analysis of the whole poem that has come down

to us. This version does not contain the futile embassy to Achilles in Book ix., but it does contain, and could not be conceived without, the present beautiful close in xxiii. and xxiv.[1]

The "proof" of these assertions (so far as proof is possible in such matters) depends on the detailed examination that follows.

I have found it impossible to present my results without repeating much that has been so well said already as to become something of a commonplace to scholars. I have done this for the sake of clearness, and can only trust it may not prove too wearisome.

[1] This version I call the "Original," as I do not think that with our knowledge we can go behind it, and as I conceive it to bear throughout the original stamp of a mighty poet. But I would not for a moment deny that this poet may have used earlier material, say, as Shakespeare used his Plutarch.

CHAPTER II

THE OPENING OF THE TALE

THE general effect of the opening scene cannot, it is true, teach us much for our present purpose. Whether planned for the opening of the "Wrath" or the opening of a larger fate, it is almost equally effective. This is due to the simple fact that it is the opening. All that is really needed in either case, so far as the *general* impression goes, is to prepare our minds for something great and terrible to follow as the result of the quarrel; and the "Wrath" itself contains the deaths of Patroclus and of Hector, which are terrible enough. But the case is different when we come to look at the matter in detail. First, however, we must deal with the famous prologue, for one of the most plausible arguments brought by the advocates of the "Wrath" is based upon its character. The important lines run as follows: "Sing, goddess, sing of the wrath of Achilles, the accursed wrath that brought ten thousand sorrows on the Achaians and hurled many a noble life down to the House of Death. . . . And the will of Zeus began to be fulfilled from the hour that King Agamemnon and the great Achilles quarrelled with one another" (i. 5–7).[1]

Now it is urged that these lines do not suggest the vast sweep of our present poem. Nothing, for instance, is said expressly about the doom of Troy. And the inference is drawn that the poem to follow dealt with the wrath of Achilles alone.

[1] "and so the counsel of Zeus wrought out its accomplishment from the day when first strife parted Atreides, king of men, and noble Achilles." (Lang, Leaf, and Myers.) Others take the last clause in close connection with the first line: "Sing of the wrath, *beginning from* the hour that," &c.

But there are three points to notice. If the invocation is to be taken as a kind of overture that must summarise all the themes, why have we no reference to the death of Hector, or to the special grief that is to fall on Achilles himself? Because, it might be answered, (and rightly,) both are implied in the general disaster. But if the poet may imply so much as this, he might surely imply the doom of Troy as well, bound up, as it is, with the fall of Hector. Secondly, we are not compelled to take the invocation as any such epitome at all. It is the Homeric custom to introduce any specially striking incident by an appeal to the Muse, without prejudice to further developments. We might almost as well say that the cry introducing the wounding of Agamemnon in xi. 218 ("Tell me now, Olympian Muses, tell me who faced Agamemnon first") ought to make us suspect that the encounters with the other chiefs are later additions. And, finally, I think good reason can be shown for believing that there is, after all, an actual reference to the taking of Troy. The advocates of the "Wrath" and the "Wrath" alone must take "the will of Zeus" in the last lines to mean nothing but his will to honour Achilles by humiliating the other Greeks. But this is not the most natural interpretation, for Zeus never thought of honouring Achilles in this way till *after* the quarrel, when Thetis had implored him. His will in this respect was a mere *consequence* of the quarrel. But the verses, however we take them, suggest that "the will of Zeus" in some sense underlay the quarrel itself: that "the fulfilment" is the fulfilment of some long-delayed decree, already floating in his mind, to which the quarrel is a necessary prelude. And if this decree involves the fate of Troy, we have a significant parallel to the belief referred to in the Odyssey that a quarrel between the greatest Achaians was to be the signal for the end (Od. viii. 75–82). The terms of the reference there suggest that this belief is widely known Agamemnon, it is said, saw Odysseus and Achilles at strife,

and he "rejoiced when the best of the Achaians quarrelled. For so had Phœbus Apollo prophesied to him at Pytho when he crossed the stone threshold to seek counsel of the oracle. For in those days the first wave of sorrow was coming on the Trojans and the Greeks according to the will of Zeus." Agamemnon, as Merry says (note *ad loc.*), must have "been told by the oracle he might hope to take Troy when he should see an angry quarrel arise between the noblest of the Achaeans."

It is to be added that in the Odyssey passage "the will of Zeus" evidently means his will concerning the development of the Trojan war as a whole.[1]

The supporters of the "Wrath," therefore, cannot claim that the limited interpretation they put upon the prologue is either more natural or more impressive than the old view that sees in "the will of Zeus" a will vast enough to include the ending of the war. How that will is confirmed and consummated it is the business of the poem to show. The details, indeed, are not yet clear to the mind of Zeus himself; but it is here we get the momentous hint that the quarrel is to lead to a final conclusion of the whole struggle.

We may now take the scene of the quarrel itself, and in this it is important to note carefully how the character of Achilles is drawn. It is a mistake to conceive him as one roused to anger without good cause. The provocation is wanton and excessive. Agamemnon is obviously in the wrong: forced to give up Chryseis for the army's sake, he compensates himself by plundering the innocent Achilles of his lawful prize. It is equally a mistake to think of Achilles as implacable in his purpose. On the contrary, at the very outset we have clear proof that he is apt, in the heat of passion, to resolve on harsher methods than he will carry out. In his anger he threatens to go home to

[1] The Odyssey uses the plural, "boulai," the Iliad the singular, "boulê," but this difference is trivial.

Phthia (169), but we hear no more of this intention. When the taunts of Agamemnon become unbearable, it is in his mind to kill him, but before the irrevocable deed he is checked by the descent of Athena. And how must Athena be regarded here? Not, surely, as a purely external influence. The gods in Homer are treated as finite individuals, it is true, but almost always they also represent some larger power as well, either in the soul of man or in the world of Nature. In fact the Homeric conception combines the two ideas, and is sometimes puzzling enough. But in this passage the matter seems plain. The mention of the internal struggle surely indicates that Athena stands here for the wise counsel in a man's own heart, just as she does in Od. xx. (init.), when Odysseus communes with himself the night before the final struggle. It is obvious at any rate that we cannot think of her in this case as an all-wise prophetess, for, if we do, we must face the awkward fact that she is urging her favourite on a course she knows will end in the bitterest grief. Far better for him to have struck down Agamemnon on the spot! This being so, we ought not to attach the weight of an important prophecy, the fulfilment of which must be expressly recounted, to the lines (212 ff.): "This I say to you, and my words shall be fulfilled. You shall have thrice as many glorious gifts one day to atone for this insolence; therefore keep back your wrath and obey me." The fact is that Achilles knows his worth (*cp.* 244); he realises that, if he remains inactive now and merely holds aloof, he will be in a far better position and obtain far greater honour than is possible by any other course. This general expectation, it will be observed, is amply justified by the sequel, and it may even be suggested that the account of the embassy in Book ix. sprang from a wish to develop this hint of the threefold gifts, meant by the original poet to remain a hint and nothing more.

Immediately after this storm of anger come notes of

tenderness and pathos. We are told of the friendship between Achilles and Patroclus, of the yearning love of Thetis, of the early death that is to come upon her son. Now, if the poem ended with the triumphant cruelty of Achilles, what induced the poet to touch the listener's heart from the very first with this kind of sympathy and solemn grief? If we mourn over a hero's mother at the opening, how can we feel satisfied at the close with a conqueror who forgets that the dead man has a mother too? Or are we to suppose that this effect is merely accidental? Or that at least the poet was only on the level of one of his characters, and could sympathise with Thetis but not with Hecuba?

In the present Iliad, it may be added, the note of doom that is struck here is but the first of a long series of warnings to both Greek and Trojan, increasing in weight and gloom until, in the end, the doomed Achilles meets the doomed Priam face to face under the shadow of coming death. But this effect is lost in the "Wrath of Achilles." This first touch remains a touch and hardly more.

To resume the thread of the tale: Achilles bids his mother implore Zeus to avenge him, and she promises to make the prayer, but she must wait for twelve days, as the gods are away on a visit to "the blameless Ethiopians." The account of "the twelve days" has been questioned as inconsistent and unnecessary. But the inconsistencies are of the slightest, the gravest being that Thetis says (l. 424) "the gods went yesterday" to Ethiopia, and yet Apollo was at Chryse and Athena at Troy and Olympus. The explanation of course is that the poet, as mentioned before, is apt to waver in his conception of the gods; sometimes they are divine and omnipresent, sometimes they are only fairies, mighty but not all-powerful, and who cannot always be found.

On the other hand, the interval seems to be assumed more than once, not only in our present Iliad, but even in

what is usually taken to be the "Menis" itself. Achilles, when he resolves to return at last (xviii. 125), speaks of having been "long away" from the field, and the phrase is taken up again at l. 248 and echoed in the next book (xix. 46). Polydamus also, at the famous council of war in the plain (xviii. 257), implies a prolonged absence when he lays stress on his own habitual readiness to bivouac by the ships so long as Achilles was at variance with his chief. But if we adopt the usual excisions, Achilles' absence will dwindle to less than forty-eight hours. And, while the length of the interval is involved in the story, it also in itself heightens our interest. We understand Achilles' restless longing all the better when we think of those twelve days in his hut alone. And if we are allowed to keep Book xxiv., we have an effective correspondence in the twelve days' pause that follows there. The waiting for vengeance at the opening is balanced by the waiting in misery at the close; the tension of our excitement here by the tension of our sympathy for Priam there.

At last Thetis makes her request (i. 493 ff.). Zeus sits long silent, pondering on the difficulties he sees. Hera, he says, will be against any Trojan success. Finally, pressed by Thetis, he promises (523) to "take thought that these things be fulfilled," and bows his head in token of consent. The promise is solemn, but, be it observed, only general. Achilles, we understand, is to receive honour through the success of the Trojans; it does not follow that from the very moment of the nod they are to succeed. So far as the will of Zeus is concerned there is no reason to demand that the rout of the Achaians in xi. should follow at once. The mere trouble of dealing with Hera would be likely to prevent that, and indeed we find Zeus lying awake all night to think out a plan (ii. 1, 2). At last he sends a delusive dream to Agamemnon bidding him arm the host, and saying to him, "Now you may take the mighty town of Troy, for the lords of Olympus are

of one mind at last. Hera has won them round, and doom hangs over the Trojans" (ii. 29–32). Agamemnon awakes full of confidence, orders a general arming of the host, calls his counsellors, and tells them the dream.

So far all is smooth in the story. Now we come on a knot. At the very end of Agamemnon's speech, after the words, "Come, therefore, let us see if we can call to arms the sons of the Achaians," he suddenly adds, "but first, as I ought, I will test them by my words; I will bid them take to their ships and fly, and the rest of you must speak against it and hold them back" (73–75). The strangeness of this proposal for a test, coming, as it does, abrupt and unmotived, has never been explained away, and it is to be noted that Nestor, in his reply, makes not the vestige of an allusion to the idea. On the contrary, he only says (79–83), that if another man had told them of the dream he might have disregarded it, but his respect for the king makes him agree to the arming at once. He ends simply with the king's phrase, "Come, let us call to arms the sons of the Achaians." (This of itself might suggest that the phrase had closed the speech of Agamemnon's too.)

Here, certainly, it is natural to suspect that we have interpolation, and that the description of the assembly which follows was a later canto, springing out of the original situation, but at first only loosely attached to the poem. Twelve days, we remember, were to elapse after the withdrawal of Achilles, and the listeners might well ask: "What did the Achaians do without him all the time? Were they never discouraged? Never angry with Agamemnon?" The scene, let us suppose, was written on such an impulse, and for a date before the dream. The poet who made it conceived Agamemnon (quite in accordance with the original conception) as restless in temper and uncertain, anxious to test the spirit of the army and win an expression of enthusiasm before he led

them out to war again. In a preliminary meeting of the chiefs he tells them of his plan to call an assembly and himself propose a return to Greece, while they are to see that the proposal ends in what would practically be a vote of confidence. The assembly is held, and Agamemnon's speech is cunningly calculated to win such a vote (observe ii. 119–138, and see Leaf, *ad loc.*); but Thersites, a clever, unscrupulous demagogue, cuts the ground from his feet by attacking him for his treatment of Achilles and accepting the proposal in grim earnest for the army.

One great advantage of stating the theory in this form is, as will appear in a moment, that on this basis we can explain the dislocation without any complicated system of interpolation on interpolation and alteration after alteration. We have only to suppose that, when the order of the poem was fixed by the editors, the "lay of the assembly," too splendid to be lost, was inserted at this place (and some such place it must have found if it was to be kept at all), and that at the insertion the meeting of the chiefs before the testing of the army was fused with the meeting of the chiefs after the dream. This was done by simply tacking the lines of Agamemnon's proposal about the test on to the close of his original speech about the dream, and the artificial suture has betrayed itself by its awkwardness. The old poem, we may now suggest, went straight on from the picture of the soldiers pouring out "from ships and huts like bees" (87–92) to the similes of the army gathering upon the plain and marching out to war (455 ff.).[1] We thus get a new and singularly appropriate addition to that famous series.

[1] For convenience' sake I shall usually, as I do here, suggest the exact lines where the original poem may be held to be broken and resumed, although I do not think it possible always to feel certainty in such details. In Appendix A I have put a list of the passages. A condensed translation of the whole is to be found in "The Story of the Iliad," by F. S. Marvin, R. J. G. Mayor, and myself. I have quoted from this version whenever it suited my purpose, sometimes expanding, or otherwise altering to make the meaning clearer, or condensing further for the sake of brevity.

After the similes come the Catalogues (484 ff.). Here, too, omission is most plausible, and in no way conflicts with the principles we have laid down. The enumeration adds little to the impression of a great multitude, already vividly brought before us by the similes. The main effect, indeed, in the continuous poem is to irritate us by the long delay, and it is odd to find the formal introduction of so many characters when so much general knowledge has already been taken for granted, while the list itself is never referred to again. Above all, the view it gives of the relative importance of the different sections in the army does not correspond with the rest of the Iliad. Dr. Leaf, calling attention to this, proceeds to say ("Iliad," vol. i. p. 86): "But it has been pointed out by Niese that all the heroes named in the Catalogue played their parts in other portions of the Epic Cycle. The conclusion is that the Catalogue originally formed an introduction to the whole Cycle." Such a conclusion is very welcome, and if we may discard the Catalogue of the Ships we must also discard with it the Trojan Catalogue, its obvious supplement. But why should we discard anything more? We can pass with perfect naturalness from the lines just before the first Catalogue—the lines describing Agamemnon's appearance "like a god among his followers" (ii. 483)—to the verses just after it (ii. 761–785), with their mention of Ajax as the greatest champion left to the Greeks in Achilles' absence, and with their telling picture of Achilles himself and his horses and his men, chafing in their idleness. No single touch, by the way, could prepare us better for the service of Ajax at the rout in Book xi. than this honourable mention of him here. And if we keep the wonderful lines about Achilles' horses in Book xvii. 426 ff., and again in Book xix. 399 ff., we can find full significance in the allusion to them at this point. It is worth adding that the reference to the mares of Eumelus (ii. 763–767) is also significant if, and only if, it is taken in conjunction

with the chariot-race in xxiii. (Bergk notices the connection, though he does not hold the two passages to be by the same hand. *Griech. Literaturgesch.*, vol. i. p. 565 n^{30}.)

A quotation may show the smoothness of junction (ii. 482, 483, and 761, ff.). "So glorious was the son of Atreus that day, great among the people and chief among the heroes. And tell me now, O Muse, who was the best of the warriors that followed the sons of Atreus, and which were the noblest steeds. The steeds of Eumelus were the best . . . and the best man there was Ajax . . . for Achilles and his horses were away," &c.

The scene then shifts to Troy (ii. 786), and we have our first sight of Hector, the accepted leader in council and in war, and the sally of the Trojans and their allies to meet the great attack. This passage has been traversed because Iris speaks of the Achaian host as larger than any seen before, and this, it is said, is not suitable for the last years of the war. But the words of Iris only imply that the Greek host is larger than any other army, not larger than it has ever appeared before. Moreover, in view of the coming disaster in Book xi., it is well to emphasise the fact that Agamemnon is now attacking in force, with no reserves told off to guard his camp.

The omission of the Trojan Catalogue (ii. 816 to end) in no way involves patching, as the halt of the Trojans outside the gates to form their line of battle (811–815) leads naturally to their advance in full array (iii. 1 ff.). But before dealing with Book iii. itself we must consider a larger question.

NOTE.—Assumed "Original" (from the Opening to the Arming of the Trojans): Il. i. entire; Il. ii. 1–92, 455–483, 761–815.

CHAPTER III

THE CHARACTER OF ACHILLES

The next excision proposed is far more important. We are asked to pass at once to Book xi. and the defeat of the Greeks. There is much to be said here; for while some of the omissions seem at once welcome and justifiable, others are little short of staggering. The subject is complex, and it will be found convenient to take the books in their reverse order. The question of x. is simple enough. The incident, a night-raid on the Trojan camp, has no direct influence on the story, and might be inserted at almost any point. As it is never referred to again in any way, the question of its general fitness must remain largely a question for individual taste. It seems to me a needless delay in the development, and that we have nothing whatever to counterbalance the objections brought against it. According to Eustathius and others,[1] the ancients themselves believed that it did not originally belong to the Iliad, but was inserted by Peisistratus. It overcharges the night with incident, as the Iliad stands, for it assumes Book ix., and in Book ix. there is the Embassy to Achilles. (In consequence, Odysseus, it has been observed, must be given three suppers.) Moreover, many points in the language (*e.g.* the number of perfects in *κα* and the peculiar vocabulary) do seem to suggest a different hand (see Monro, *ad loc.*).

With regard to the great Embassy in ix., here again my chief task must be to summarise, and thankfully, the results of the critical school. I give the summary, because

[1] *Cp.* Leaf, "Companion," p. 189.

for my own purposes I wish to lay stress on certain points. The vital question seems to be, as Dr. Leaf points out, whether we can make this book really consistent with the words used by Achilles himself at a later time. At this stage of affairs, according to ix., the Greeks have suffered a marked reverse, and Agamemnon in despair sends Ajax and Odysseus to Achilles, offering the most ample reparation, including the restoration of Briseis, if only he will return and help them. He refuses everything with scorn. But in xvi., when Patroclus asks him why he will have no mercy on the defeated Achaians, he answers that his one cause of anger is the injustice of Agamemnon, who has dishonoured him by taking away his lawful prize (xvi. 52–59). Further on (71–73) he cries that the Trojans would fill the watercourses with their dead "if Agamemnon were only kind to me!" How could any man speak like this to his familiar friend when both of them knew that he had just refused all, and more than all, that he had a right to claim? And when the terrible blow of his friend's death falls upon him and his heart is full of self-reproach for his folly (xviii. 107–111), never once does he upbraid himself for the most foolish act of all, the only act really unwarrantable, the rejection of the *amende*. And in xix., when he comes to Agamemnon and gives up his wrath in the frankest possible manner (56 ff.), confessing that he too was in the wrong, he has not a word to say of the Embassy, only the grim sarcasm, "it was wise of us both to fight for the sake of a girl." Still more strange, Agamemnon, when he rises in confusion,[1] trying hard to make the best of his case, conscious that he cuts a poor figure, and that the feeling of the company is against him,[2] never thinks of what would be by far the strongest point in his favour, the fact that, spontaneously, he had offered full reparation; all he can do is to lay the blame on Até,

[1] Most scholars agree in omitting l. 77.

[2] xix., 78 ff. Observe the nervous entreaty for a patient hearing.

the madness that comes over men and drives them to unreasoning rage.

Nay, he even goes so far as to say, in so many words, that he had never been able to give up his anger: "even when Hector was destroying the Argives at the ships I could not forget the madness that had struck me from the first" (xix. 134–136).

But, it may be said, in our present Iliad Agamemnon does make an actual reference to the Embassy at the end of his speech (xix. 140), and Achilles answers the reference (147), and the final presentation of the gifts is described further on (238 ff.). How are we to explain all this? Now we notice first that the reference in Agamemnon's speech comes in most oddly, exactly like an after-addition when the speech itself is really over. The whole passage runs thus (xix. 137 ff.):

"But since I was blinded by madness and Zeus took my wits from me, I am ready to make amends, and offer recompense to the full"—almost the very words, by the way, in which he accepts Nestor's proposal for the Embassy in ix. (119, 120), words naturally suited to the *first* offer of reparation—"but now be up and doing; arm yourself for the fight and summon the host" (139). Then, suddenly and oddly, "And as for the gifts Odysseus offered you yesterday[1] in your hut, I am here to give them all. So, if you will, wait a while in spite of your eagerness for war, and my servants shall bring them from my ship, so that you may see I give what pleases you" (140–144).

Upon this follows an irritating delay, irritating, that is, to one who is reading the poem as a whole. The poetry in itself is fine, but surely so long a discussion on the importance of breakfast in military tactics is out of place just now, when we are burning for the encounter with Hector; and the same may be said of the return of Briseis and her

[1] Not, it may be noticed, strictly "yesterday" in the present Iliad, but the night before.

lament over Patroclus, beautiful as that is. What do we care for her now? She has sunk out of sight. Achilles and we have other things to think about. "Would that Artemis had slain her the day I sacked Lyrnessus!" (xix. 59, 60).

Now all difficulty would be gone if we could suppose that Agamemnon's speech originally closed at the call to arms (139), and was followed at once (with the link of the ordinary formulæ) by the words of Achilles in 270–275. These words come in strangely where they are at present, while they would form a most admirable and courteous answer to the king's one and only plea if they were placed here. "Zeus sent me mad," Agamemnon had said, and now his generous enemy would answer:

"Oh, father Zeus! Yes, it is thou that dost bring madness upon men. The son of Atreus would never have roused my spirit by his stubbornness, never have taken away the girl in my despite, had it not been the will of Zeus to bring death upon the Greeks" (270–275).

The application to Agamemnon of the epithet "stubborn" ("impracticable," "not to be dealt with," ἀμήχανος) is, it may be observed, far more suitable if he has not already offered reparation of his own accord.

On this theory the colloquy of the two would then be followed simply by the dispersal of the host to breakfast (276, 277), and the vain attempt of the chiefs to comfort Achilles himself and make him take food (303 ff.). The two passages here assumed to be interpolated (xix. 140–269 and 278–302) contain the references to the gifts, the restoration of Briseis, and the discussion about breakfast. These are all, in themselves, quite natural additions: the ideas might well be suggested by the refusal of Achilles in the original poem to touch food before he fights, and by the proffer of the gifts in the brilliant addition of Book ix. Indeed, it seems to me possible that the interpolations here, from first to last, are by the same hand as ix. itself: there

is the same grace and spirit in the speeches, a grace and a spirit that almost redeem their lack of appropriateness to the larger context. In any case the work shows a close sympathy with ix., and, like ix., it bears the stamp of a remarkable but somewhat rhetorical poet.[1]

The return to the original poem at 303 is marked by a significant awkwardness at the joint. After the lament of Briseis come the words (xix. 301–303): "And the women went with her as though they mourned for Patroclus, but it was their own fate that they bemoaned. But the elders gathered round him and begged him to take food." After a moment's thought we see that "him" must mean Achilles, but if the whole passage had been written by one poet, surely we should not have had to think even for a moment who it was that could be meant. We should have had the name of Achilles instead of the ambiguous pronoun. But with the omission of 278–302 the passage runs easily (276, 277, and 303). Achilles has just been speaking: "So he spoke, and straightway broke up the meeting, and the men scattered to their ships. But the elders gathered round him," &c.

It remains to examine three other passages which bear on the general question of the Embassy.

(1) In xvi. 61–63 Achilles says, "It is true I said I would not cease from my wrath till the cry of battle was at my ships." This has been held to contain a distinct reference to his threat in ix. 650–655, that he would not think of fighting till the fire came to his own part of the fleet. But there is no reason why the passage in xvi. should not have been written independently; in fact, as M. Croiset suggests (*op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 152), it may actually have helped to suggest the composition of ix.

(2) In xi. 609 Achilles cries, "Now, methinks, the Achaians will stand round my knees in prayer!" The

[1] For an admirable estimate of the characteristics of ix., see Leaf, "Iliad," vol. i., Introduction to Book viii., fin.

only possible way of reconciling this cry with his refusal of the prayer in ix. is to do as Monro and Lang suggest,[1] lay stress on the "*Now!*" and think of Achilles as gloating over his triumph. But if this is so, I would point out that the natural implication would be that the first entreaty had not been humble and submissive enough. But could that be said of the Embassy in ix.? Could even Achilles think so? It would certainly be true, if Agamemnon had had no part in the prayer, and I would submit that, if we must suppose a previous embassy, it ought to be one of this character.

(3) The last passage we need take is xviii. 444–452, where Thetis is telling the story to Hephæstus. "The maiden whom the Achaians had chosen for his prize Agamemnon took from him. And he lay eating out his heart with grief for her, till the Trojans drove the Achaians back upon their ships and hemmed them in, and the elders made entreaty to him, and they spoke of many splendid gifts. Then, though he would not succour them himself, he put his own armour on his friend Patroclus and sent him with his warriors to the field." Now if this refers to the Embassy in ix., Thetis is gravely misrepresenting the state of affairs. From her account it would certainly be thought, first, that Agamemnon took no part in the supplication, secondly, that no one offered to restore Briseis, as indeed no one could well have done without the king's initiative, and lastly, that these entreaties led directly to the sending of Patroclus.

The account, in short, does not suit the Iliad in its present state, and so can hardly be an argument for that state. It is plain that it would really fit much better if "the entreaty of the elders" meant the entreaty of Nestor, the eldest of them all, sent through Patroclus (xi. 790 ff.). I believe that this was actually the case, and that the one line which makes it appear doubtful—xviii. 449, "and they spoke of many splendid gifts"—slipped in long afterwards

[1] "Homer and the Epic," p. 131.

when the Embassy in ix. had become so famous that any mention of "entreaties from the elders" might be taken (really *mis*taken) as referring to it.

There seems every reason then to exclude ix. as a later addition to the poem. It will be noticed that I have made no mention of two famous arguments against it, viz. (1) that it is inconsistent with the character of Achilles; (2) that it would make us lose sympathy for the hero. I do not think, in the first place, that it can be shown to be inconsistent with the *general* outline of the hero's character, as drawn in what are admitted to be the oldest parts of the poem; and I may add that those who hold it to be so must face the question how a great poet—(and the poet of ix. was a great poet)—could have been so much interested in the original hero as to draw the scene of the Embassy, and yet not have realised that he was making a flagrant incongruity. At the same time I do believe that the action of Achilles here is not in perfect harmony with the subtler details in the delineation of his character elsewhere, at least as it presents itself to me. He is never the man to remain obdurate merely because he wished to see his private enemies suffer, when his own honour was already appeased. But I am anxious not to lay stress on this point now, because one of my objects here is to establish firmly what I conceive to be the original picture of his nature, and I would avoid even the appearance of using my conclusion as a premise. If, however, on other grounds shown, I hope, to be adequate, we do exclude ix., it is of the highest importance to observe that the character of the hero then stands out in a far more lovable light. He had withdrawn until his honour, wantonly insulted, should be appeased; his opponent, the original aggressor, has not even apologised; yet, before any reparation has been offered, the distress of his allies and the prayer of his friend touch him in spite of his pride: he cannot bring himself, it is true, to forget every-

thing and go back humbly to fight himself in the tyrant's army, but he sends his troops and his armour and his friend. "We can feel," as Dr. Leaf says,[1] "for the passionate but high-hearted man." Now if this is the hero the poet made, if this is the Achilles of the "Menis," how shall we be content to take our leave of him in a mood of bitter vengeance and furious cruelty? Could the poet himself have been content? The consequences that follow the exclusion of ix. have not, I venture to think, been fully appreciated by those who at the same time exclude xxiv. This is no argument against the exclusion of the former, but it is a strong one for the inclusion of the latter.

There are several smaller touches throughout the poem that reinforce this impression of the underlying tenderness and chivalry in Achilles' nature. Most of them will be noticed in their place, but three may be mentioned here; two of these come from the "Menis" itself.

At the opening of xi. express mention is made of Isus and Antiphus (101 ff.), two *sons of Priam* whom Achilles had taken prisoner *but had set free for a ransom.* They are cut down now by Agamemnon, and it seems to me also that a definite stress is laid on the king's savagery in the fight, a stress which makes us think all the more highly of Achilles' placability in holding his prisoners to ransom. In the first place it is said that Agamemnon knew the princes well, for he had met them in the Greek camp, and an ancient reader would feel at least as much as a modern the instinctive dislike to killing any one who had once been received under conditions of even quasi-hospitality (*cp.* in xxi. the appeal of Lycaon for mercy on this very ground). Immediately afterwards (xi. 123 ff.) we hear of Agamemnon scorning an entreaty for quarter and a promise of ransom from the two sons of Antimachus.

[1] "Companion," p. 23.

And if, as I believe, Book vi. is part of the original, we are prepared to expect such action from Agamemnon and to hate it, for we remember how he overbore the merciful impulse of Menelaus when a similar prayer was made (vi. 37–65).[1]

Achilles' habit of mercy is brought to our notice again in xxi. 34 ff., just before the final scene with Hector, and here again it is a son of Priam, Lycaon, whose life he once had spared. This is one of the passages from the "Menis" itself, and is of such high significance that it must be dealt with fully in its place.

The third passage is from Book vi. (a book which will be discussed in the next chapter). Andromache takes occasion to tell Hector, in lines that can hardly be torn from their context (414 ff.), how Achilles had slain her father,[2] *but afterwards* had been too chivalrous to strip him of his armour, and had burnt his body with all due honour; and how he had taken her mother prisoner, *but afterwards* had let her be ransomed by her kin. There is no meaning in this digression except to suggest that Achilles is a man, fierce perhaps and even cruel in the heat of passion, but one who can hear the voice of honour and mercy in his calmer moods. This is the Achilles we know fully, when xxiv. is left to us; this is the Achilles indeed whom the

[1] It is almost incredible to me that in view of the context, *aisima pareipôn* (vi. 63) could be taken to mean anything but "uttering *awry*, perverting, the right." (The negative sense in the compound verb, clearly indicated by the preposition *para*, being uppermost.) This is a perfectly natural meaning for the Greek, and is in fact supported by the parallels (*e.g.* Il. vii. 121, xii. 213; Od. xiv. 509, iv. 348. *Cp.* Il. vi. 333, x. 445; Hes. Op. 260). It would require overwhelming evidence on the other side to make one believe that a poet born of woman had deliberately set it down that it was right to kill the baby in its mother's womb (vi. 58, 59). Æschylus, who loved his Homer, must have taken it as I do, or what are we to make of his great chorus in the "Agamemnon"?

[2] Her father was King of Thebe, and it was at the sack of Thebe that Chryseis was taken, though her home was in Chryse. This is mentioned in i. 366 ff. "Why Chryseis was taken here instead of in her own home we are not told" (Leaf, *ad loc.*). But may it not be because the poet had King Eëtion and his city in his mind and instinctively arranged to bring them into ours?

"Menis" itself, mutilated though it is, indicates as well as it can.[1]

Passages like these can only be explained away either by supposing that they are inadvertencies on the part of the original poet, and very foolish inadvertencies, for they will make us all the more dissatisfied to end with xxii., or that they are skilful, and very skilful, additions, made *after* the creation of xxiv. in order to harmonise old and new. The artificiality and difficulty of the last theory (in view of the inconsistencies remaining) has been dwelt on sufficiently, but it is scarcely more artificial or more difficult than the first.

[1] This was written before the appearance of Professor Murray's "Rise of the Greek Epic." I find in that work so illuminating a comment on the spirit of Book vi. that I quote it to reinforce my own. Professor Murray has been dwelling on the conception of *aidôs* as representing the sense of honour. He goes on to say: "When Achilles fought against Eëtion's city, 'he sacked all the happy city of the Cilician men, high-gated Thêbê, and slew Eëtion: but he spoiled him not of his armour. He had *aidôs* in his heart for that; but he burned him there as he lay in his rich-wrought armour, and heaped a mound above him. And all around him there grew elm-trees, planted by the Mountain Spirits, daughters of Aegis-bearing Zeus. . . .' That is *aidôs* pure and clean, and the latter lines ring with the peculiar tenderness of it. Achilles had nothing to gain, nothing to lose. Nobody would have said a word if he had taken Eëtion's richly-wrought armour. It would have been quite the natural thing to do. But he happened to feel *aidôs* about it" ("Rise of the Greek Epic," p. 81). To these words, instinct with poetry and sympathy as they are, I would only add that *aidôs* is the keynote of Il. xxiv. from first to last.

CHAPTER IV

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF BOOKS III.–VI.

I MUST now resume the analysis of the Books between ii. and xi. Books x. and ix. we have discarded, and if we discard ix. we must also discard viii., which is obviously designed solely as an introduction to it. Dr. Leaf's suggestion ("Iliad," *ad loc.*) that the bulk of it may actually be by the author of ix., seems well worthy of consideration.

Book vii. contains the duel scene between Ajax and Hector, the building of the Achaian wall, and the proposal in the Trojan assembly to surrender Helen. The parts, taken in close connection with each other and with what has gone before, present many difficulties. The abortive proposal about Helen is natural in itself, but why should the Achaians spend the time in building the wall when they have succeeded so well in the field, and are confident that they will take Troy?[1] The building of the wall seems composed with reference to Achilles' scoff in ix. (348–353) at Agamemnon's careful precautions. At more than one point the narrative is jerky or confused, and it may be that we have here two lays originally distinct, one containing the Trojan suggestions about Helen (say, 344–432), and the other describing the building of the wall and the burial of the dead (say, 313–343, 433–482 end). These two songs, we may suppose, have been run together and found some sort of a place for themselves here in the fixed order. We have a third additional lay, I believe, in the duel between Ajax and Hector (vii. 8–312), so odd a pendant as it

[1] Note the prowess of Diomede in v. and the words of Idomeneus in iv. 265–271.

stands to the duel between Paris and Menelaus in iii. Dr. Leaf points out[1] the strange action of the Trojans and of the Achaians in accepting another truce and another duel immediately after the first duel and the violated truce, and the anti-climax of a contest that is a mere trial of skill after a duel that is to decide the whole question of the war. We may then readily agree that it is impossible to hold that the two were meant from the first to stand side by side in a poem composed with a view to unity of effect. But why should it follow that "it is equally impossible to suppose that the third book is the older of the two episodes"? Surely the same objections would apply whichever book was written first. The mere fact of composing iii. at a later date ought not to have blinded an artist of high rank to the flaws he was introducing. And the artist in iii. is of the highest rank. The duel alone is a far finer piece of work than the duel in vii., and, if it is a copy, it has certainly surpassed its model to a quite surprising extent.[2] Finally, the natural explanation of the opening allusion in vii. (69–72) to the violated oaths of iii., is that the speech was written by some one who had Book iii. in mind. The motive for the composition of the duel in vii., as an isolated song, is not far to seek. There may well have been a desire to hear of a duel between Hector and the one Greek who really kept him at bay in the absence of Achilles. Or, perhaps, as Professor Murray has suggested to me, the song

[1] "Companion," pp. 149, 150.

[2] Compare the monotonous and abortive regularity of the fighting in vii. 244 ff. with the rush and pressure of Menelaus' repeated attacks in iii. 346 ff. Moreover in iii., Menelaus' eager cry for vengeance, his bitter cry of disappointment, add greatly to the life of the whole. Compared with all this the duel between Ajax and Hector has the cold formality of a tourney. It is to be noted that Menelaus prays to Zeus for a righteous decision of the ordeal (iii. 351–354), and that Zeus does not grant his prayer (as Menelaus feels, very bitterly, 365–368). While the Greek's own skill always gives him the advantage, he is always just foiled—by some unlucky accident, as we should say—by the intervention of the gods, as an Homeric audience would feel. Zeus is watching the fight, and, mindful of his promise to Thetis, will not suffer Menelaus to slay the adulterer. Otherwise the war might have ended without the need for Achilles.

goes back to a tribal tradition in which Ajax was the chief hero.

The importance of the admission that Book iii. may be the earlier will be seen when we come to consider its influence on the rest of the tale. It could not be maintained, I think, that the duel between Hector and Ajax had any effect of importance. We may then discard the whole of vii. except the first half-dozen lines, which are closely united to Book vi. on the one hand, and to xi. (62 ff.) on the other, as we shall see later. Book vi. itself is bound up with what precedes it in iii., iv., and the first part of v. That its quiet scenes of home and tenderness gain infinitely in their general effect by coming between the pictures of slaughter and battle has been noticed again and again. In detail the interdependence is almost as striking. For example, the interview of Hector with Helen and Paris in vi. needs for its full elucidation the help of iii. How does it come about that Paris should be dallying with Helen in Troy when the battle is at its height? And he himself makes a reference to his mortification (336), and his rising hope of future victory (339), which we can only understand if we suppose some signal reverse, such as his failure in the duel. Helen's words to Hector (344–358), if taken alone, would be just enough to give us a bewildering hint of her character, not enough to be the convincing revelation they are when illuminated by what we see and hear of her in iii. It is not merely that iii. and vi. are in harmony, not merely that iii. gives the clearest picture of her beauty; it is that in vi. we only find her upbraiding the man who has her under the charm, while in iii. we learn how the charm can work even against her will.[1] We understand her fully if we may have iii. to throw light on vi. I do not see how we could from vi. alone.

[1] I would refer the reader here to Dr. Leaf's clear summary of the simple, profound psychology in the drawing of her character: "Companion," p. 99.

Further, we have then a complete picture of Paris and Helen to serve, through contrast and likeness, as a foil to the picture of Hector and Andromache. On the one side, Paris, brilliant and irresponsible, taking his passion as an easy luxury, brave enough, it is true, but without the soul that gives a sense of shame; Helen, bound to him, but humiliated by the bond, her finer spirit putting a strange distance between them[1]: on the other side, Hector and Andromache, with their high confidence in each other, the kind of love that makes Hector tell his worst fears to his wife,[2] and Andromache cease to hold him back when she knows that he is resolved to face his death.

We have good cause, then, for thinking that the scene between Paris, Hector, and Menelaus, at the opening of iii., was from the first bound up with the meeting between the brothers at Helen's side in vi. But if this is so, some interval is necessary between the two episodes, and this is provided in iii., iv., and the early part of v. Here we have the spiriting away of Paris by Aphrodite after his failure in the duel, the breaking of the truce through the treachery of Pandarus the Trojan, the review of the Greek troops by Agamemnon, the encounter of the two armies and the prowess of Diomede.

The last part of v., however, must be dismissed, for there Diomede's "Aristeia" is carried to extravagant lengths, overtopping any exploit of Achilles, and full of extraordinary encounters with the gods themselves. These peculiar marvels, we must note, are not only entirely overlooked in Book vi., but what Diomede says there himself is inconsistent with them, refusing, as he does twice over, even to think of fighting with the Immortals (vi. 128, 129, and 141). Yet the expansion in itself is natural enough, for Diomede is an attractive figure from the start; so that here again all the conditions seem satisfied by the

[1] iii. 16–75, 383–447; vi. 350 ff., 503 ff.
[2] vi. 407 ff.

theory of additional songs springing out of the early work, yet only loosely connected with it. We may suggest that these additions begin with the curious supplement to Athena's first words of cheer to Diomede (v. 127–132), the supplement in which she promises to take away the mist from his eyes so that he may distinguish between god and man, and bids him fear not to fight against Aphrodite. This is obviously introduced as a prelude to the attack on Aphrodite herself, which follows later (v. 330–470). Aphrodite, it has been observed, is here called "the Cyprian," "Kupris," a name that never re-occurs in Homer. In passing, it should be noticed that the capture of Æneas' horses by Diomede's cousin in the earlier portion of the book—the portion presumed to be original—is obviously meant to be read in connection with the chariot-race in xxiii. The natural presumption is that both are by the same hand.

After the fantastic doings of the gods (v. 330–470) we pass back suddenly (471) to the splendid human outburst of Sarpedon, reproaching Hector for his slackness in the fight. This is a most worthy introduction for Sarpedon, and a fine preface for the re-entry of Hector into the mêlée and for the Trojan rally against Diomede (493–505); but the effect of it all is greatly blurred by the resumption (506) of the abortive struggles between mortal and Immortal, which go on to the end of the Book. And at the first line of Book vi. we are brought back just to where we were left before, at the Trojan rally under Hector and Sarpedon (v. 505). Diomede, in spite of his exploits against the gods, has made no further progress against his human foes. He is pressing them hard, but they can still hold him back. Hector is able to leave the battlefield for a little while at the advice of Helenus the soothsayer, in order to go into the city and command prayer and sacrifice to Athena. We may believe—I think we are meant to believe—that Hector accepts this priestly suggestion more

readily than he might otherwise have done because of two reasons of his own. He guesses that Paris has slipped away to solace himself for his defeat with the joy of Helen, and he cannot bear his brother's shame as a recreant and a sensualist. He will go and fetch him back. In the second place, Hector knows that the Trojans have broken the truce, and the knowledge has struck a chill to his sensitive heart. Now he may see his wife for a moment in the city, and if Troy is doomed for this treachery, as he fears, if he himself is to fall with the fall of his country, perhaps this very day, it would be something at least to say good-bye to Andromache once more. All this seems to me only a fair inference (I would go further myself and say an inevitable one) from his own words to Hecuba, to Paris, to Helen, and to Andromache,[1] when he reaches Troy. It may be said that such action at such a time shows a certain weakness in Hector's character. It undoubtedly shows, and I think on purpose, that he is not, for all his dash and fire, a superlative warrior, that his generalship is apt to be faulty, that he is liable to depression, and even, we may suspect, subject to panic. All these points will be important to remember when we come to his meeting with Achilles.

At present we are not allowed to dwell much on the gap left by his departure, for Diomede's onslaught is immediately checked by his meeting with Glaucus, Sarpedon's cousin. They learn that there is an hereditary friendship between them, and the delightful episode gives us an interest in Glaucus which, as we shall see later, is of great value for Book xii. (the attack on the wall) and for Book xvi. (the death of Sarpedon).

If we have now, as I hope, made out a case for the interdependence of Books iii. to vi. (allowing for the necessary omissions in v.), we may proceed to take them in their proper order, and see what they give us for the

[1] vi. 280 ff., 325 ff., 365 ff., 441 ff., and 521 ff.

imaginative understanding of the situation assumed in the "Wrath." In the first place, it is here we learn to know the gallery of characters whose existence is involved in the tale. So far we are only familiar with Achilles and Agamemnon. And, as I hope to show, we shall need a knowledge of the others. At the very opening of Book iii. Paris, the cause of the whole trouble, is brought before us. Stung by Hector's reproaches, he suggests a duel with Menelaus, under a solemn oath that the victor is to possess Helen and all her wealth, while both armies are to go home in peace. It has been objected that if Paris was to propose this at all, he ought to have done so long ago. But is it not more natural to suppose that it would need the pressure of the long siege and the protracted struggle to make him tolerate the bare idea of risking Helen on such a chance? Moreover, he is essentially a man who acts on impulse; not usually troubled by the disapproval of others, he is yet perfectly ready, with easy good-nature, to admit the justice of special reproaches,[1] and to take advice when it chimes in with his mood. He admires Hector, and happens to be "spoiling for a fight" (iii. 60, 16–20). It is equally in accordance with his character that he should propose a duel now when roused by his brother's reproof, and refuse to abide by it afterwards.

And after Paris we are shown Helen, in scenes that are not only exquisite themselves, but make us understand the entire movement of the war. We can sympathise with the Trojans who kept the prize, and with the Greeks who fought to win her back. We realise what men will undergo for her sake, and why. The battlefield is lit up, as it were, by the radiance of her loveliness. She shines out "over the field of blood the blushing star." Then we are shown Priam — dignified, tender-souled, chivalrous — till our hearts go out to the noble old man; and by the simple device of the "Observation from the Walls" the figures of

[1] iii. 59; vi. 333.

Agamemnon, Menelaus, Odysseus, and Ajax are made to pass before us, until we know their bodily presence as they lived.

But we shall be told, in spite of all these advantages, iii. must go, because Agamemnon's consent to the duel is inconsistent with his confidence in his dream. He believes that he can take Troy, and is it likely that he would accept an arrangement by which, if defeated, the Greeks would lose all, and, if victors, would only recover Helen and her wealth? The answer is twofold. In the first place, is it clear that Agamemnon is so very confident after all? Was he likely to place very much reliance on the dream? He has never said anything about it to the army at large, nor is it ever mentioned again. Nestor, it is plain, does not think much of it, and expresses his feeling almost in so many words (ii. 80–82). This indeed is what we might expect from any Homeric character, for the Homeric belief in omens, dreams, and signs is by no means free from wavering and uncertainty.[1] And Agamemnon of all others would be likely to vacillate, a man, as Dr. Leaf says, "in turns overweening and depressed."[2] But even if he has no doubt about the fulfilment of the dream, it does not follow that he would not accept the duel, believing that it might prove the first step towards the consummation. Zeus will give the victory to Menelaus, Helen will be theirs, and after that something else may happen to give them Troy as well. This interpretation of his attitude finds complete confirmation in a most significant addition that he makes (on his own account) to the terms of the oath. The proposal of Paris, endorsed by both Hector and Menelaus, was simply that the victor should have Helen and her wealth, while the armies were to be at peace (iii. 70–75, 90–94, 101, 102). But Agamemnon, when taking the oath, adds that, if Paris falls, the Trojans are not only to give back Helen and her wealth; they are also to "pay a recompense that men will

[1] *Cp.* xii. 237–243; Od. xix. 560, 561. [2] "Companion," p. 67.

speak of in days to come; and if they will not pay the price, I will stay here and fight until I make an end of the war" (iii. 286–291). These significant words are repeated by him a second time after the defeat of Paris, when he calls on the Trojans to surrender Helen and her wealth, "and pay a fitting recompense, such recompense as men may speak of in days to come" (iii. 459, 460).

We may now turn to iv., and the opening scene in heaven. This is a rock of offence to the critics, who ask how Zeus can possibly discuss the upshot of affairs with Hera and actually talk of making peace after his solemn promise to Thetis that he will grant success to the Trojans until Achilles is avenged. Strange the scene undoubtedly is, but the strangeness is due to the peculiar (and at bottom, inconsistent) conception of the gods, to which I have alluded before. The Zeus in the poet's mind is at once the omnipotent god, who is the personification of Destiny, and the individual husband, powerful indeed but limited, and ever at variance with his wife.

Let us now examine closely the conversation in question. In the first place, we are expressly told that Zeus is speaking sarcastically in order to annoy his wife—"he tried to provoke Hera by cutting words, and what he said was aimed at her" (iv. 5, 6). It is almost as though we were warned not to take his words too literally. But, without pressing this point, it is clear that we need not suppose his deliberations to be inconsistent with the resolve to honour Achilles. It does not follow that the question, "Shall we stir up war again, or make peace between the two?" must imply that he really countenances the idea of no more fighting at all. Almost these identical words are used by Athena in her question to Zeus at the close of the Odyssey (xxiv. 475, 476). There Zeus replies: "Let them make a firm covenant together . . . and love each other as they did before" (483, 485, 486). Athena goes down expressly to fulfil this decree, and yet there is slaughter before the

peace is made. At the same time, as I said above, I suspect that the form in which Zeus threw his question, suggesting at least the possibility of immediate peace, sprang from his desire to irritate Hera. But the leading thought in the mind of Zeus and the leading purport of the scene are plainly indicated by his concluding words, "If this were to the mind of all, Menelaus might take Helen home and Priam's city still be saved" (iv. 17–19). The real question is, shall Troy be doomed to fall or no? That this is so, is clear from the whole drift of the dialogue; and we may compare not only the scene just quoted from the Odyssey, where a colloquy in heaven decides the end in Ithaca, but the still more striking parallel in Iliad xvi. 431–458, where the fate of Sarpedon is decided between Zeus and Hera, Zeus evidently anxious to save Sarpedon, and Hera urging his death until her husband yields. It would almost seem as though such a difference of opinion between the king and queen of the gods was a symbol for the oncoming of a disaster, felt to be inevitable, but pitiful and tragic. The inevitable is accepted; it is decreed by the universal Father, but it is accepted and decreed with sorrow. The "will of Zeus" as representing Destiny, the will referred to in the prologue, is here confirmed by the actual god himself, even against his own private will as an individual. It is impossible to get rid of all inconsistency; but it is an inconsistency in the very conception of the god's nature, an inconsistency born of the unconscious attempt to symbolise metaphysics by mythology. In the decree itself, once it has gone forth, there is nothing inconsistent. That Troy should be doomed and the doom made known to the listeners of the tale, and yet that the Trojans should succeed for a time, and Achilles receive his honour, is a perfectly natural scheme. On the other hand, if the poet had decided that Troy was to be saved, Zeus might have arranged for the truce to be broken by accident, so that peace and friendship might be possible in the

end, after Achilles had received his due. But the poet wishes us to know that Troy must fall, and so Zeus consents to Hera's wish, and the breaking of the truce is brought about by treachery on the Trojan side, treachery after solemn oaths which the gods were called upon to witness.

After this there could be no real hope for the final deliverance of Troy. Honourable Trojans, like Hector, would begin to feel, as we have seen that Hector does feel, the first touch of despair. On their side the Achaians would gain confidence, as the words of Agamemnon and Idomeneus show they did[1] (iv. 164, 165, 269–271). It is not by accident, surely, that the same cry is put into Agamemnon's mouth and Hector's, triumphant for the one, infinitely pathetic for the other. "A day will come when holy Ilium must fall, and Priam of the stout ashen spear, and all his people," echoing with fateful significance the very words of Zeus: "For above all cities and all nations of the earth, I have loved the holy town of Ilium, and Priam of the stout ashen spear, and all his people" (iv. 46–47, 164–165; vi. 448–449).

A little later on Pandarus, the actual traitor, is killed by Diomede (v. 296), and the listener feels that the doom of Pandarus is just. That there is no comment on his death in the poem ought not to cause difficulty, for the poet hardly ever makes a comment in his own person, and neither Diomede nor Sthenelus knew who the traitor was, since Pandarus had been hidden from the Greeks when he did the deed (iv. 113–115). Pandarus breaks the truce by shooting at Menelaus and wounding him (iv. 104 ff.), and we learn to know more of Menelaus in this scene. He has already borne himself gallantly in the duel, and shown a generous sympathy for the warriors fighting on his account, a sympathy which makes him rejoice to accept the offer of Paris: "Trojan and Greek have suffered enough in our

[1] See "Homer and the Epic," A. Lang, p. 101.

quarrel, and it is the wish of my heart that they should fight no more" (iii. 97 ff.). Now we see the steadiness with which he takes his wound, and hear his calming words to Agamemnon (who has almost lost his self-control):

"Courage! No need to alarm the host! The arrow has not gone deep, and I shall live!" (iv. 184 ff.).

We can understand the affection with which he inspires his brother: indeed the love for Menelaus is the only thoroughly pleasing thing about Agamemnon.

The rest of the scene and the review that follows in iv. complete our knowledge of the heroes who are to be so prominent in xi. Machaon, the good physician, is brought forward, and "a physician is worth a hundred men" (xi. 514). It is he who staunches the wound of Menelaus (iv. 210–219), and after that is done Agamemnon reviews the host (iv. 223–421), and it is in this review that we come into touch with the other chieftains who are to bear the brunt of war in xi.,—Idomeneus the mighty prince, Ajax (only briefly mentioned before), Nestor (whom we had only met so far as a counsellor), Odysseus (so far only described by others), and Diomede. The interviews with Agamemnon reveal their personalities quite clearly: Diomede, courteous, chivalrous, and self-reliant; Odysseus, strong, dignified, claiming and receiving respect, thinking in the battle of his son Telemachus; Nestor, cautious, experienced, an old man but doughty still; and Ajax, recognised even by Agamemnon as one who needs no urging, holding his men well in hand, taking praise, as he took most things, in silence. When we come to Book xii. we shall see also that there is significance in the honourable mention of Menestheus beside Odysseus.

That Agamemnon should occasionally be unfair in what he says is only natural for a man of his type at this moment of anger and excitement. Was he fair in Book i. to the aged Chryses? Or just to Achilles? Of the Trojans we have seen Paris, and Helen, and Priam;

and in vi. we meet Hecuba, the motherly-hearted woman, who guesses what her son has come for, and tries to inveigle him into taking food and rest. Hector we can see from many points of view; see him as he is seen by those who know him best, and know his worth—by his mother, by Paris, by Helen, but best of all by his wife Andromache. More will be said about his relation to Andromache when we come to xxii.: at present we must turn once more to xi. and its connection with what has gone before.

NOTE.—Assumed "Original" from the Opening to the end of vi. Il. i.; ii. 1–92, 455–483, 761–815; iii.; iv.; v. 1–126, 133–329, 471–505; vi. 2 to end.

CHAPTER V

THE ROUT OF THE GREEKS (BOOKS XI.–XV.)

In the last two chapters reason has been given for holding, provisionally, that the original poem continues unbroken (save for the latter part of v.) from the beginning of iii. to the beginning of vii., where Hector and Paris return to the field, but that there it is interrupted by a mass of later additions which go on to the close of x.[1]

As regards the beginning of xi., on either theory (mine or that of the "Menis"), the opening lines of this Book, which tell of a new morning and fresh preparation for battle, must be considered as later too. Dr. Leaf speaks of this part as a connecting passage designed to effect the transition in returning from the interpolations to the original,[2] and I have no wish to traverse this suggestion. Here, I admit, we seem to have the hand of the "diaskeuast" at work. Dr. Leaf suggests that the connecting passage is closed at xi. 56,[3] with the description of the Greek array; but, if my theory be correct, the next six lines describing the marshalling of the Trojans must also belong to the "diaskeuast." For we should expect the original poem to proceed at once from the reappearance of Hector and Paris on the field (vii. 1–7) to the actual business of the hand-to-hand fighting, and this begins at xi. 62. I suppose, then, the original sequence to have been as follows: "So the two brothers sallied out from the gate, Paris and glorious Hector, thirsting for the fight. And the sight of them was as welcome to their comrades in the field

[1] For Books vii. and viii., see c. iv. init., pp. 31, 32; for Books ix. and x., see c. iii.

[2] "Companion," p. 201.

[3] He adds "or a little later" ("Companion," *loc. cit.*).

as a fair wind is welcome to weary mariners after they have toiled long at the oars. And as a star shines out among the clouds, and then is hidden again, so was Hector seen, now here, now there, now in the van, and now rallying the rear."[1] It is well to note in passing that Hector's drooping spirits are revived by an inspiration from Zeus. Iris bids him wait till Agamemnon is wounded and then make his rush, in the confidence of success.[2]

The rest of xi., with the exception of a stray line here and there, and Nestor's reminiscence (670–761), is generally recognised as original, and has been praised by Dr. Leaf as "a perfect piece of ancient and uncontaminated poetry."[3] But let us see how the perfect work suffers if we remove all that might contaminate it. The rout is produced by the wounding of the prominent Greek heroes, and critics rightly point to the naturalness of the device, and its superiority over the supernatural mechanism in viii. They do rightly in this, but it is not right to forget that, if we may not have iii. or iv. or v. or vi., none of the "prominent heroes" except Agamemnon are prominent to us at all. We have once met Nestor, it is true, but only in his capacity as an ineffective, if well-intentioned, counsellor. We have not even seen Odysseus or Diomede or Menelaus or Ajax or Machaon, much less been taught to know their qualities. The reader who has "the disfiguring interpolations" to help him feels a thrill of terror for the Greeks, a thrill of hope for the Trojans, as, one after another, the best-known Achaians are disabled. The wounding of Agamemnon is

[1] I should not like to press the point, but it does seem to me possible that the word *phanêtên* in vii. 7 is taken up by *phanesken* in xi. 64.

[2] xi. 186 ff. The last lines of the message "until he reach the ships and the sun sets and the sacred darkness falls," do not fit with the sequel, and have probably slipped in by mistaken repetition from the resolve of Zeus in xvii. 454, 455, where they are quite in place (see Munro, xi. *ad loc.*).

[3] "Companion," p. 202. In his edition of the "Iliad" (Introduction to xi.) Dr. Leaf somewhat modifies this statement, saying that the book "has doubtless undergone, even in the older parts, internal modifications." But he admits that these "are now beyond our power to detect."

the signal, as Zeus had promised Hector, for the defeat of the men on whom we know that the king relies and has reason to rely xi. (370 ff.).

First Diomede is wounded, Diomede the valiant, in whose house valour was a tradition, then Odysseus, the hero whose intellect equalled his courage, then Machaon, the good leech, then Nestor, the counsellor proved in war. Each of these we feel is worth a hundred men.[1] Would it be possible to feel this if the names were names to us and nothing more?

Nor is this all. As none of the disabled heroes ever fight again, we should have to admit—if we followed the "Menis" and the "Menis" alone, and passed at once from ii. (init.) to xi.—that a prince of story-tellers and a writer of supreme heroic verse deliberately framed his narrative so as to make the one and only appearance of these champions on the field—his own country's champions—the occasion for their signal and unredeemed discomfiture. Diomede in particular would appear as nothing but a boaster, instantly put to shame; for if we are not to hear of his exploits in Book v. and his brave endurance there when wounded by Pandarus (95 ff.), we shall not know of anything he has done to justify his haughty words to Paris here (xi. 385 ff.).[2]

If the reader thinks I over-emphasise these points, let him try the experiment of telling the story in this truncated form to listeners whose ignorance keeps them unprejudiced. Let him see if he can rouse any sympathy for these unproved, easily-defeated Greeks, who claim so much for themselves, and then are immediately put to flight. I think the story-teller will find reason to regret that he did not trust to "Homer." Nor would it meet the case to urge that the Greek champions in question must have been tribal heroes, and an Homeric audience would know them well

[1] v. 253; iii. 216–224; iv. 350 ff., 193 ff., 293 ff.

[2] These admissions would be the more awkward for those who hold that the poet was so ultra-patriotic that he could not even sympathise with his own lovable Hector, because Hector, forsooth, was an "enemy."

enough already. An audience of that type would only be the less likely to tolerate such a treatment of their favourites. Put Nelson in the place of Diomede, and imagine an English audience hearing nothing about Nelson but his defeat, and a defeat after boasting!

Again, if we had only the "Menis," the peculiar character of Paris would be unknown to us, and hence we should lose entirely, not only the splendid effect of his careless, brilliant re-entry into the fight,[1] where he is to do so much harm, but also the shiver of surprise, changing to a kind of awestruck excitement when we find this dandy sending Diomede and Machaon and Nestor out of the battle. Zeus, we feel, must have a hand in the matter. Odysseus is wounded too, and Agamemnon has gone, and our minds turn hurriedly to consider who is left. Idomeneus has his hands full (xi. 501). Menelaus, we remember, was wounded by Pandarus before (iv. 127), slightly, it is true, but still enough to hamper him, and even if he were unscathed, he could not uphold the fight alone. But there is one great bulwark still, Ajax, "the best of the Achaians after Achilles" (ii. 769), and we recall that even Agamemnon had no fault to find with him (iv. 285). Will he not help? And help he does in the glorious passages that every one knows (xi. 485 ff., 544 ff., *cp.* xv. 674 ff.).[2] But how much more glorious if the help comes as a service from an old and trusted friend! The one man who now comes forward to support him (xi. 575), Eurypylus, is immediately wounded, and again it is Paris who does the mischief. We have only heard once of Eurypylus before (v. 76 ff.), and I would ask the candid reader if his loss does not seem far less important than the loss of Agamemnon or Odysseus or Diomede or Nestor. It may

[1] vi. fin.; vii. init.

[2] The daring juxtaposition of the two metaphors, the metaphor of the lion and the metaphor of the ass, seems to me to give us the character of Ajax with wonderful force and humour. The two together just describe him: he has the good stout donkey in him as well as the lion.

then occur to him how much the "original" may be indebted for its own effect to the "later accretions."

On the other hand, I fully admit that according to my theory there is a long interval, and what might even be called a long delay, between the promise of Zeus to Thetis in i. and the fulfilment of that promise through the Greek rout in xi. The interest cannot be said to flag, for everything that happens is intensely interesting, but the actual main story does not advance. The duel between Paris and Menelaus with all its attendant circumstances, the breaking of the oaths, the review by Agamemnon, the resumption of battle, the prowess of Diomede, Hector's quitting of the field and his return with Paris, all this intervenes before the loss of Achilles can be brought home to the Greeks with its crushing weight in xi. This, of course, is the reason why acute critics have been tempted to cut the intervening parts away. But to yield to the temptation is to destroy the effect of xi. itself, as we have seen, and, as we shall see later, the effect of xxii. also. Thus the delay is all but completely justified by the enrichment of the crisis when it actually comes. I say "all but completely," for I am prepared to grant it conceivable that an even greater degree of skill might have achieved an equally great result without any sense of delay. But to say this is only to say that Homer was not superhuman. It takes him some time to gather his threads together, but the threads are essential to his pattern. To cut them would not mend matters.

It is interesting to note that a similar interval occurs in the Odyssey between the first resolve of Telemachus (in Book i.) to oust the suitors and discover his father, and the actual initiation of the vengeance itself in Book xvi., when father and son meet together at last. Certain critics, for similar reasons, have denied the unity of the Odyssey on the very ground of this delay, but the defence of that unity must be postponed to the second part of this essay. In our

highest dramatic literature, as it seems to me, we can find two other parallels to this Homeric use of what may be described as a pause after the first shock of the opening, before the listener can understand how the results of the action taken there are to work themselves out in another and consequent crisis. Professor A. C. Bradley in his "Shakespearean Tragedy" (Lect. ii.) points out that Shakespeare's usual plan "is to begin with a short scene, or part of a scene, either full of life and stir, or in some other way arresting. Then, having secured a hearing, he proceeds to conversations at a lower pitch, accompanied by little action, but conveying much information" (p. 43). Again—and here we come to a deeper matter—in many plays, after a central crisis and before the final catastrophe, we find "a momentary pause, followed by a counter-action which mounts at first slowly, and afterwards, as it gathers force, with quickening speed" (p. 56). Professor Bradley goes on to point out the "difficulties and dangers" of a scheme involving this second pause (adopted in "Julius Cæsar," "King Lear," and "Macbeth"), the risk of "a decided slackening of tension," even perhaps of a certain tendency to "drag." Yet Shakespeare used it often, and Professor Bradley suggests a deep, "though probably an unconscious, reason" in the poet's mind for the preference of such a plot over one that might be apt "to show less clearly how an act returns upon the agent, and to produce less strongly the impression of an inexorable order working in the passions and actions of men, and labouring through their agony and waste towards good" (p. 67). May not something of the same feeling have been stirring in the depths of Homer's mind? He was quite great enough to have had the sense of the vast and complex order in which man is set among men, of the terrible and momentous results to which one rash action may lead, results which may go far beyond the individual and drag down a mighty nation in his fall. But if he had this sense he would demand a wide canvas for his picture.

The need for us to know the Greek heroes before we can feel for ourselves *how* Achilles' withdrawal is destined to affect them, has been dwelt upon already. The same is true for the Trojan side. We could not see how surely Achilles' folly led to the brief Trojan triumph if we were not shown what manner of man their champion is. We could not understand what the loss of Hector will mean to Troy unless we were shown the relation between him and his city. We could not conceive in its fulness what the fall of that city itself will mean unless we had learnt both to love the citizens and their king and to despise the adulterer who brought the war upon his country. The poet needs for his own effect to let us know all this, and as soon as may be. He does not tell us *before* the quarrel, partly in order "to secure a hearing" by a vivid scene at the outset, a scene that holds in itself the kernel of what is to come. Indeed the success of his abrupt opening has provided a commonplace for the praises of critics from Horace downwards. But also, I believe, the poet adopted this scheme because he wanted to give the impression of a sudden fierce and hasty action, which we feel is bound to have momentous consequences, but *what* consequences we cannot yet discern; consequences which do not manifest themselves at once, and which we can only fully appreciate when we look, and look deeply, into the sea of character and circumstance that surrounds the initial deed. Slowly, as in actual life, we come to see what it all leads to.

We must now return to the close of Book xi. I have already touched on the words of Achilles to Patroclus at this crisis, as he stands on his ship watching the rout. It is wholly in keeping with the sweeter interpretation of his character that he should send Patroclus to Nestor to inquire after one of the wounded men. This is not the action of a man "gloating over his triumph." Nestor in his reply begs Patroclus to go back to Achilles and implore him to relent: "there is a power in a friend's word." Neither

of them say anything about the unavailing words of the friends on the Embassy supposed to have taken place the night before. They seem to know nothing about it. Patroclus agrees readily, but on his way to Achilles he is stopped by the wounded Eurypylus, and stays out of pity to nurse him. It has been asked[1] if it is not unnatural that Patroclus should delay, even for the sake of a wounded comrade, at such a critical moment. The answer—an important answer—is that it just depends how great the crisis is. Even the kindly Patroclus could scarcely linger if the Greeks were at the last gasp. If the rout in xi. is held to represent the darkest hour for the Greeks, then we must admit an artistic blunder. But if we are meant to conceive that the Greeks, though hard pressed, have still a good chance, that they have, let us say, a second line of defence, then the action of Patroclus, though it heightens our excitement, does not give us a shock nor cause a sense of dislocation. The wall and the struggle round it are exactly what we require: xii. is needed to justify the end of xi.

It justifies also the long reminiscence of Nestor in his reply to Patroclus immediately before (xi. c. 670–761). This has been struck out as grotesquely inappropriate to its context. But the alleged inappropriateness can only be found in its *length*, for it is admittedly a brilliant piece of work in itself, and entirely in keeping with Nestor's character. And the length, I believe, will not seem too great if we remember, as I have said before, that, *unless* we excise xii., there is no reason to suppose that the Greeks are absolutely at the last extremity. Moreover, it should not be forgotten that the passage, after all, is not so much as one hundred lines. It would take less than ten minutes to recite, and would be grasped much more quickly by an Homeric Greek than by an English student. Finally, a certain amount of *in*appropriateness in the old man's lengthy story

[1] Monro, "Iliad," xi. Introd.

is actually appropriate to the context. Increase of tension is gained just by feeling that the tale, though very good, is very long, and that the sands may be running out for the Greeks while Patroclus is kept listening to Nestor.

All these considerations are reinforced when we find, in Book xxiii., that the whole scene between Nestor and Patroclus, and the reminiscence in particular, are brought before us again, in a very subtle manner, and with a very wonderful effect.

It is perhaps a work of supererogation to add, that our excitement here is in no way inconsistent with our conviction that Troy is doomed. On the contrary, that conviction helps us to reach the right attitude. We cannot hope for Troy's escape, and what we now fear is irreparable disaster to the Greeks, so that the end will mean the annihilation of both armies in one indiscriminate slaughter; in short, that Achilles will repent too late to save his friends, though not too late to avenge himself on Troy—repent when the people are destroyed, as Nestor says himself (xi. 764). (This confident expectation, by the way, of Achilles' future remorse is another of the many indications in the "Menis" itself that Achilles, for all his passion, is never conceived as inhuman.) Thus our knowledge of the fatal decree against Troy, at last definitely promulgated in heaven, helps to keep our sympathies in that right balance which is necessary for the full appreciation of a struggle between noble enemies. We may exult, we ought to exult, in Hector's moment of triumph, but the exultation should not overpower our sympathy for Hector's foes. And the knowledge that Hector's success could not win for him the one thing that he desires—the salvation of his city—this knowledge does prevent our wish for that success from being overpowering. Room is left in our hearts for the Greeks; their cry for Achilles can be our cry as well; and the poet has taken care that it should be so.

The objections brought against xii. must now be considered. Dr. Leaf would discard the book, if only because it contains the wall, and wherever the wall occurs there is, on his view, confusion in the narrative. Now it may be granted at once that there appear to be two interpolations in the book. One contains the abortive attack by Asius, which we will discuss presently. The other is the digression in the first fifty lines "about the subsequent destruction of the wall by Poseidon and Apollo" (Monro, *ad loc.*). Even so conservative a scholar as Monro admits that this is probably suggested by one of the passages about the building of the wall in vii. (443 ff.). But this brief digression can be dropped out of xii. without disturbing its texture (omitting, say, the lines from 6*b* to 37*a*). Let us now take the rest of the narrative in detail and test it carefully. It is true we cannot say for certain exactly how the wall was built; but does that matter? It is with it as with the raft of Odysseus. In either case we know quite enough to make the story clear, though we might not be able to construct a model. The wall may have been of earth propped with wooden pillars, as Dr. Leaf suggests ("Companion," p. 220), or of masonry and wood: we cannot say. But we know that it was strong enough to bear men standing on it (xii. 265), and yet not too strong to be torn down by hand; we know that the trench in front of it was hard for chariots to cross under a shower of spears, but not impossible; we know that there was at least one gate,[1] and that by the time Hector and Sarpedon reached the wall, the gate (or gates) had been shut by the Greeks (290, 340).

With these simple facts in mind, let us follow the story step by step. Hector stands in his chariot at the edge of the trench, ready to make his last fierce rush (xii. 40 ff.). The splendid picture here has been suspected, because Hector is compared to a wild boar at bay, and it is said

[1] xii. 340 is ambiguous.

(quite truly) that he is not at bay, but taking the offensive. But this is to miss the point of the simile by pressing the details—a mistake that is not uncommon. The leading note is surely just the irresistible daring of the boar, a daring that is to prove fatal to himself: "Nothing can daunt him till his courage brings him to his death, and wherever he makes his rush, the ranks give way" (45–48). We are reminded, or reminded we ought to be, of Andromache's words to her husband, only an hour before: "Your daring will be your ruin" (vi. 407). And we ought to remember also that Hector, as she had foreseen (vi. fin.), never returns to her alive. The same note is struck in the simile of Sarpedon lower down (xii. 305, 306): "He will make his rush and seize his prey, or fall there in the front." Sarpedon, too, is to meet his doom that day, as we shall find. Polydamas then comes forward with sage advice to the doomed men. Let them leave their horses and charioteers at the lip of the trench, and cross on foot themselves. The trench is difficult for the chariots, and even Hector's horses have refused the plunge. If the Trojan charge succeeds, well and good; if not, at least they escape the danger of the chariots becoming entangled in the trench on the retreat. Wise counsel, accepted by Hector here; but, wise as the counsellor is, he is not, as a rule, one who carries weight, certainly not as against Hector. This appears in a moment, and a quiet little touch in xv. (445 ff.) emphasises it curiously. Cleitus, his own friend and charioteer, disobeys his chief's wishes in this very matter later on, hoping to please Hector and thinking him overborne by Polydamas. He crosses with the chariot and follows into the thickest of the fight. This would be easy enough to do when once the wall was carried: there must have been at least one causeway across the fosse. But it is expressly noted that the horses prove a danger in the crowd on this very occasion, as Polydamas sees again. No doubt other charioteers would follow the lead of Cleitus,

and thus there is no difficulty (as it has been thought) in finding later on, at the successful charge of Patroclus (xvi. 364 ff.), that "many a car was broken in the trench," as Polydamas had feared. Hector's car, however, is not one of these, and it may be presumed that when he left it behind (at Polydamas' advice) he gave his charioteer strict injunctions to stay where he was told; and Hector is a man who, when understood, is always obeyed. It should not be overlooked that the stress laid here on the ineffective wisdom of Polydamas is just the preparation needed for us to realise later on all the danger that Hector runs in neglecting his advice at the close of the day, after Achilles has appeared at the trench (xviii. 249 ff.).

To return to the narrative in xii.: the Trojans, when they decide to attack on foot, divide into five parties (xii. 84 ff.). The object of this arrangement is not expressly stated by the poet, but it ought to be clear enough: it is to divide the Greek resistance, and the plan evidently succeeds. Hector would never have been allowed to get right up to the gate and take his aim with the stone so easily, if Ajax and his namesake and Menestheus had not all been occupied elsewhere. (Menestheus, we remember, is honourably mentioned in the "Review.") Sarpedon and Hector, it is expressly said, are at the head of the two most daring bands (xii. 88–90, 104–107), so that we are not surprised afterwards to find they share between them the glory of carrying the wall. Then follows (108–195) an episode which is certainly both ineffective and inharmonious: the abortive attack by Asius, one of the five captains, on some gate—it is not clear whether the same gate that Hector breaks down in the end, or another. The episode is curiously terminated, breaking off abruptly, with only a hint of the death of Asius to follow at some time, a hint not fulfilled till Book xiii., which we shall find reason to think does not belong to the original poem at all. The

gate is open during this episode (121), but it appears that it is taken as closed later, at 290 possibly, certainly at 340, and nothing is ever said about the closing. Moreover, the whole action of Asius in outstripping both Sarpedon and Hector strikes one as out of key. But the whole passage (xii. 108–195) can easily be omitted; it can be dropped without affecting the rest; and we may suppose it prompted by a wish to hear something of the fortune of the other companies beside Sarpedon's and Hector's. The fight at the wall may have bulked largely in the traditions. The rest of the book is a model of speed and vigour. Hector and his men are just about to cross the trench when for a moment an evil omen checks them. Polydamas begs them to draw back for good, but Hector sweeps away all such protest as superstitious, and dashes his men at the wall. At first Ajax and his namesake direct the resistance all along the line; then Sarpedon and Glaucus make a determined assault at the point where Menestheus is posted; Menestheus, hard pressed, sends along the wall for help; Ajax and Teucer reach him in the nick of time; Glaucus is wounded (though not utterly disabled), but Sarpedon drags down enough of the wall to make a breach. Still the Greeks will not give way until Hector, with a mighty cast, breaks down the gate, and further defence is useless. What is there obscure in this? Or where is the lack of vigour?

Let us now see how great is the gain to the whole poem from this clear and glorious narrative. We see Hector for the first time as a leader of almost irresistible dash; in no scene before has he shown this force and fire; never before has he been drawn as a champion so worthy to meet Achilles. And Sarpedon wins our hearts now by the character that opens out in his famous speech to Glaucus, facing death, as he does, in the hope of glory. The friendship between the two recalls the friendship between Achilles and Patroclus; we are made to sympathise

with the Trojan allies as we do with the Greek heroes. Achilles is not the only man who is to lose his bosom friend in the war. We shall be asked to sorrow with Glaucus too.[1]

But the most striking effect of the book is on the immediate situation. The excitement rises higher and higher; the need for Achilles grows greater and greater. Will Patroclus never make his appeal? Will he waste the precious moments for ever with Eurypylus?

But on this moment of tension follows the longest retardation of the story that can be found. Zeus, for no conceivable reason, turns away his eyes (xiii. 1–7), and is afterwards beguiled by Hera (xiv. 153–351), while Poseidon rallies the Greeks, and the battle sways to and fro without any conclusive result. This oscillation endures throughout two Books and a half, until at xv. 389 we are brought back to the exact point we left at the end of xii. The Trojans in xiv. had been driven off after all without Achilles' help, but in xv., with Apollo's assistance, they cross the wall once more, and this time without a struggle (xv. 351–367). It is scarcely credible that one and the same poet could have written xii. and then marred its effect by such a tame after-clap as this, and it is significant that the second taking of the wall in xv. must be accomplished, like the rout of the Greeks in viii., by supernatural agency. Moreover, the fighting is languid and the incidents on the field are clumsy, *e.g.* the Greeks go to their tents for armour, when they can least be spared, and the success of the Locrian archers in xiii. (712–722) is little short of ridiculous. Again, at the opening of xiv. Nestor hears the noise of battle apparently for the first time, though all through xiii. the fight has been raging *within* the wall. As war-poetry the poetry is poor, but on the other hand it

[1] "Other men lose the souls they love, dear as Patroclus was to him, and they weep for them, but they let them go. The heart of man was made to sorrow and endure": xxiv. 46 ff.

shows a wonderful skill in decoration and a wonderful brilliance in lighter narrative. The chariot of Poseidon upon the waters (xiii. 23–31), the couch of Zeus and Hera upon Mount Ida (xiv. 346–351), such pictures have the splendour and charm of a Titian. The work throughout, in its qualities and its defects, in its opulence of fancy, its lack of moral tone, its nervelessness in battle, and its delight in voluptuous grace, seems to indicate a period when the flower of epic art, though still beautiful, is already overblown. The contrast is most marked between such work as this and the sinewy vigour shown in Book xii. that precedes it, and in the latter half of Book xv. that follows it. The point where the original begins again in xv. seems to me unmistakable. Let us remember our cry for Patroclus and Achilles at the end of xii., when the wall was carried, and then observe how admirably this is answered by xv. 390 ff. "Now while the Trojans and Achaians were fighting at the rampart Patroclus sat in the hut of Eurypylus and cheered him and talked to him and put simples on his wound, but when he saw the Trojans charge the wall and the Achaians turn and flee, he groaned and smote his hand upon his thigh and cried, 'Eurypylus, I can stay with you no longer, in spite of all your need; the battle has grown too hot. Your squire must see to you, and I must hurry to Achilles and urge him to take the field.'" (This passage, by the way, could scarcely have been written by a poet who had in his mind more than one capture of the wall.)

Patroclus hurries away, and meanwhile, in spite of Ajax, the mass of the Trojans still get forward inch by inch, till at last (xv. 592) they bear down the resistance and "rush on the ships like ravening lions.[1] Here even the advocates of the "Wrath" admit that the original appears again, so we

[1] On my theory they have been *attacking* the ships since xv. 390, but this is the final and victorious rush. It is wholly needless to suppose that the verb "rushed-upon" (593) implies the absence of previous *attacks*, any more than it does at xv. 395.

need say little more. But the last words of Ajax, fighting desperately *à l'outrance* (733–741), have some bearing on the question of Book xii. He is trying to give his men the courage of despair, and he cries out: "Is there any better wall behind us?" Dr. Leaf, discarding xii., and wishing (for which I do not blame him) to keep this splendid scene unaltered, takes Ajax to mean the metaphorical "wall" made by the ships and the line of battle. It is "not necessary," he says, to assume that this portion of the poem belongs to those which speak of a literal wall. Perhaps not, but it is exceedingly natural.

NOTE.—Assumed "Original" (from the Return of Hector and the Rout of the Greeks to the end of xv.); vii. 1–7; xi. 62 to end; xii. 1–6*a*, 37*b*–107, 196 to end; xv. 390 to end.

CHAPTER VI

THE SENDING OF PATROCLUS

The close of xv. leads at once to the appeal of Patroclus and the relenting of Achilles in xvi. This has been already discussed and reason shown for taking the more attractive view of the hero's conduct. But we may pause for a moment to note in detail the gentleness that is bound up with the fierceness of it all. Achilles is ready for pity even before his friend has spoken (xvi. 5), and the famous simile in which he compares him to a little girl pulling at her mother's skirts, looking tearfully into her face and pleading to be taken up (7–11), is not only poignant in itself, it brings before us the whole sweetness of the relation between the terrible Achilles and his gentler, kindlier friend.[1] "There is no tenderness in the Achilleid," so Geddes would have us believe; but the very pith of the central situation is that the passionate hero relents at the prayer of his loving comrade.

One other matter calls for notice, the lending of Achilles' armour to Patroclus. Dr. Leaf would cut this out, believing that he detects confusion in the accounts. Now with it we must cut the closing words of Thetis to her son in xviii. (if not the whole of her visit), the entire episode of Achilles at the trench, and the whole of the making of the armour—all undeniably, on whatever theory, very early and very glorious productions. And besides this, all the following references must be got rid of also,

[1] *Cf.* xvii. 670–672, and note the epithet of "kind" (*enêês*) for Patroclus. *Cf.* xi. 785–793.

as "harmonising" additions:—xi. 798–803; xvi. 40–43, 64, 134, 140–144, 796–800; xvii. 186–187, 191–214, 450, 709–711; xviii. 82–85; xix. 1–22, 365–368, 383. Nearly all of these references are most skilfully joined to their context, and some of them—as, for instance, Achilles' cry for his lost weapons in his helplessness (xviii. 82 ff.)—cannot be torn away without mutilating an exquisite passage. Sometimes the joining is said to be early work (xviii. fin.), sometimes late (xvii. 205), but it must be admitted to be always uncommonly skilful. Surely all this is enough to give us pause. Why in the name of common-sense did the "diaskeuast" trouble so much about the armour and neglect the Embassy?

Now let us examine the alleged obscurities introduced by the lending of the armour. In xvi. 793–804 Apollo strips Patroclus of his helmet and his shield, breaks his spear, and loosens his corslet.[1] How can this be reconciled, it is asked, with the assertion of Zeus later on (xvii. 205–206) that "Hector had taken the armour from Patroclus' head and shoulders," or with Hector's own boast (xvii. 187), that he had spoiled the dead? It was Apollo that stripped Patroclus, it is urged, Hector only picked up the spoils. But such literalism is not only somewhat hard on the poet; it really implies a misconception of the situation; for the stroke of Apollo would not have cost Patroclus either the armour or his life, had not Hector completed the work. Hector may justly claim to have spoiled him, and justly be held responsible for it. It is quite gratuitous to press the words "from head and shoulders" in the speech of Zeus as though they must necessarily imply the actual dragging off of all the armour by Hector. Even in modern parlance, if a man's hat blew off and some one seized and kept it, the despoiled indi-

[1] Apollo smites Patroclus on the back between the shoulders (791). I imagine the stunning blow to break the baldric and loosen the clasps of the corslet at the back. (See below c. xv. on the Armour.)

vidual might say, "You have taken the hat from my head," and no one could accuse him of serious inaccuracy. Besides, if we are to match pedantry by pedantry, we might insist that Hector has in any case to take off the sword, the greaves, and, we may add, the corslet, for xvi. 804 need not, and I believe does not, involve more than the loosening of the clasps.[1]

The next difficulty is found in the change of armour by Hector (xvii. 186–214). Now on a cursory reading of this passage, and this passage alone, it might perhaps seem odd that Hector should leave the fight for this purpose; but, in the first place, we ought to remember that it could not take long to put on the whole Homeric panoply, and in the next—what is much more important—that Hector is never conceived either as a perfect tactician, or as a warrior who cannot know the touch of fear. On the contrary, Sarpedon, Glaucus, Æneas, Polydamas, have all on occasion to show him either the necessity for courage or the proper generalship. In vi., as we pointed out, the wisdom of his leaving the field is more than doubtful, and in xvi. 656 (which is admitted to belong to the "Menis") we read that Zeus put the heart of a weakling in his breast. True, the weakness does not last—it never does with Hector; but here, when Glaucus taunts him, he is conscious of it, and his words show that he is (xvii. 170–182). He cannot deny in his heart that he has just flinched before Ajax (128–130), and simply to put the blame on Zeus does not appease his conscience (176–178). He resolves to retrieve his position by a signal display (180)—"see if I play the coward all day long"—and for this he will equip himself in the famous armour, and rival Achilles in appearance, as in daring.

The only other difficulty to be considered here, and it

[1] See c. xv. on the Corslet. I make no doubt that none of these "difficulties" would have been thought of if it had not been for the prejudice roused by Reichel against the corslet.

is a "purely negative" difficulty, is that in xxii., when Hector receives his death-wound, while wearing the armour that he had stripped from Patroclus, it is not expressly stated that this armour really belonged to Achilles. Surely in the swift rush of that terrible scene the poet might take something for granted. Moreover, if we are allowed to keep the passage in xvii. (186–214) for which I have just argued, we could urge with considerable force that quite sufficient stress has already been laid upon the fact. What do we read? "And Hector put on the immortal armour that the gods of heaven gave to Peleus, and the aged Peleus to his son, but that son never lived to wear it in his age" (xvii. 194–197). After this, what more do we want? It is those who cut away this reference in xvii. who are then surprised that there is none in xxii. It may be noted, by the way, that in xxii. Achilles does not attempt to pierce the immortal armour that he knew so well. He watches narrowly where to strike, and strikes where there is an *opening* (xxii. 321–327).

Are we for the sake of such "difficulties" as these to face the real difficulty of tearing out the lending of the armour from the fabric of the tale? Why, it is the loss of his armour that leads directly to Achilles' splendid appearance by the trench, and that to the council of the Trojans, where Polydamas advises retreat, and that again to the touching words of Hector in xxii. itself about his own rashness. Moreover, the description of Hephæstus and his work plays a most important part in the general scheme of the epic, as I hope to show when we come to consider it in detail. The idea itself of Achilles lending his armour when he sends out his friend is both natural and pathetic. Dr. Leaf throws doubt on the naturalness by observing that "if it was really the intention that Patroklos should be mistaken for Achilles, the result is a signal failure."[1] But the expedient would be amply

[1] "Companion," p. 269.

justified if his appearance made the Trojans hesitate at all, and wonder, if only for a moment, whether Achilles had returned: "in battle," as Nestor says, "a little time is breathing-space enough" (xi. 798–801). This justification it receives (xvi. 278–282).

The victorious onslaught of Patroclus leads to the beautiful episode of Sarpedon's death. It is admitted that this is perfect in itself and harmonious with its context. "But if the analysis of previous books is correct, it must be an addition, for Sarpedon has hitherto appeared only in places which are not so old as the Μῆνις" (Leaf, "Iliad," vol. ii. p. 155). The only result of this argument should be, I think, to make us distrust that analysis. And Sarpedon's death is not only harmonious with the original epic, the spirit of it is essential to our right comprehension of its spirit. The irresistible daring of the Greek is set face to face with the noble courage and stainless honour of his foe: the Trojan champion is doomed, as he had foreseen himself: he must die, and though our hearts cannot turn from his slayer, we cannot help pitying the slain. This is all emphasised for us in the preliminary scene between Zeus and Hera in heaven, and there too we have the tender promise that the swift messengers, the twin brothers, Sleep and Death, shall carry the dead man home to his own land at last. The exquisite decoration of the lines springs, like all the greatest decoration, from a sympathy as exquisite. We are supported through the pain of the conflict by the hope of peace and honour for the dead. And can any one help seeing that here at least the poet's sympathy is with both conqueror and conquered at once? Like his own Zeus, the poet can weep tears of blood for Sarpedon while he sends the Greek to kill him (xvi. 459). Whoever wrote this scene (and whoever heard it with intelligence) had a wider sympathy than could be exhausted by the success of one side, and one alone.

The long struggle over the dead body of Patroclus

in xvii. has been challenged as weak and uninteresting. Certainly there is one part to which exception can justly be taken: the episode from 459 to 592. This, it may readily be admitted, is weak and flat. Hector and Æneas make a futile attack on the horses of Achilles (an attack forbidden by Apollo), and the fighting is as languid as the attack is futile. But this passage can easily be explained as an expansion based on the promise of Zeus to the horses, that Hector should never win them for himself (xvii. 449). And, to my mind, the weakness and flatness of this interpolation only serve to throw into relief the vigour and excitement of the desperate struggle over the dead bodies of Patroclus and Sarpedon. I suppose this is a matter of "subjective impression," and it is hard to give reasons for the stir in the blood. But at least the bare prose recital may show that the narrative is clear and coherent, and closely knit to what precedes and follows it. It is to be remembered that the vital matter is to save the dead body of Patroclus. Menelaus strides up and stands over it, "like a cow over her new-born calf" (xvii. 4); he slays Euphorbus, who claims (with some justice) the honour of stripping the slain; but he is driven off by the rush of Hector with the mass of the Trojans behind him. At once he races for help to Ajax, that great bulwark in distress, and they are back in time to fight for the body, though the armour has been taken. Hector flinches for a moment, and then, taunted by Glaucus, who is burning to get the corpse of Patroclus as a possible exchange for his beloved Sarpedon, he equips himself in the armour and rouses allies and Trojans for an overwhelming attack. Among the Greeks Ajax and Menelaus shout for the two last of their champions, Idomeneus and Ajax the son of Oïleus. Then a strange mist drops from the sky, for Zeus who loved Sarpedon loved Patroclus too, and "would not have his body taken for a prey"; and thus the last hand-to-hand struggle begins. The

struggle is long—and surely it would be so; victory sways from side to side—how should it not? Ajax rallies the Greeks, Apollo rouses Æneas; and "so they fought on like fire, and it seemed that sun and moon were blotted out of the sky. For the battlefield was wrapped in darkness where the heroes were locked in that wrestle above the dead" (366 ff.). There is sunlight elsewhere, and on the skirts of the battle Antilochus and his brother, the sons of Nestor, are "fighting a running fight," on the watch for their comrades' need—that is, keeping themselves as a reserve—no sign of "slackness," but a prudent piece of tactics, expressly stated as due to Nestor's advice. And the sequel proves that the advice was good, for it is through Antilochus that the rescue of Patroclus' body is at last effected. But, for the present, owing to the darkness, neither Antilochus nor his brother know that Patroclus has been slain. Thus, when Zeus finally "gives the mastery" to Hector (in compensation for his coming doom), and when Idomeneus turns and takes to the car of Meriones his friend and flees in terror (625), Ajax and Menelaus have only one chance left—to send a runner with the news to Achilles. And this chance they cannot take; the mist hides horse and man, they can find no one in the darkness. Then, in answer to the agonised prayer of Ajax, "Father Zeus, save the sons of the Greeks from this! Slay us if thou wilt, but slay us in the light!" the fog is swept away, and Menelaus, at the bidding of Ajax, can search for the racer Antilochus. (We are expressly prepared for the choice of Antilochus by an episode in the fight at the ships (xv. 568), where Menelaus calls Antilochus "the best of the younger men and the fleetest of foot.") Antilochus is found, and goes on his fearful errand, and the Greeks have still a chance (698). But it is a faint one, as Menelaus knows, for how can Achilles lead a rescue without his armour? Face to face with death, Ajax and Menelaus will not desert the dead. By a

supreme effort Menelaus and Meriones get Patroclus in their arms and hoist him shoulder-high, while Ajax and his namesake keep the Trojans back. Desperately they toil to the camp, and they do win home in the end, and why? Because Achilles appears at the trench.

What is there amiss here? One might have thought it a battle-piece calculated to turn every one who heard it into a warrior. And those who excise it have to face a great gap in the "Menis" itself, for they see that there must have been something in the original that told of what happened to Patroclus' body, and of how Achilles heard the news. Dr. Leaf wisely refuses to fill the gap with "useless guesswork," but have we not something here that is not guesswork, and that would fill it very well? We may add that a lecturer who has to handle the poem without it will find, when he comes to the dying prayer of Hector in xxii., that he has laboriously to explain to his class the great importance the Greeks attached to the rescue of the dead. "Homer," if he would have allowed him, would have done this for him already, and much more effectively.

Once more, it is impossible to doubt that there must have been "something like" the visit of Thetis in the original poem. Could she, who rose to comfort her son for his wounded pride, stay in the depths of the sea when he had lost his friend? What do we want better than the perfect scene we are given? (xviii. init.) Doubtless we should all accept it thankfully, if it were not for what I must call this unaccountable prejudice against the armour; since there is no denying the awkward fact that references to the armour are bound up with it in a curiously intimate way. For the rest, the prophecy of Thetis to her darling son, that his own death must follow close on Hector's, and Achilles' heroic acceptance of his doom, are of almost vital importance to the sequel of the tale. Without this we could not feel one-half the sympathy for the hero,

nor could we enter into his feelings when he answers the portent of his horse's voice (xix. 400), or when he accepts, quietly, the dying prophecy of Hector that his own death is close at hand (xxii. 355 ff.). Nor should we see, as we do now, the doom of Troy unfold itself before our eyes. Achilles in this mood, we know, is certain to kill Hector; and what will happen when Hector has gone? Sarpedon, the other bulwark, has fallen. The awful "will of Zeus" has developed itself before us.

It can be imagined with what feelings we hear after this of Hector's rash resolve to encamp beside the ships, though he has seen for himself that Achilles has returned (xviii. 243 ff.). But the whole scene here between him and Polydamas demands, for our full understanding of its inwardness, the knowledge that we have gained in Book xii. It is there that we learn what Hector is like in the flush of success: it is there that we learn Polydamas to be a prudent counsellor: it is there that we see how (as so often in actual life) a sensible, ineffective voice can be overborne by a brilliant personality. There is the humour of a poet who knows character to the depths in the creation of Hector's triumphant speech, all assertion and eloquence and no argument, despite his praiseworthy efforts to take the judicial tone. We almost smile, in the midst of our crushing anxiety, when he clinches the matter by saying to Polydamas: "You need not try to persuade the others; they will not listen to you. I won't let them." (xviii. 295, 296.)

Then we pass, if "Homer" may lead us, from the strain of these sights, from the places of battle and death and agony, away to the peaceful home of the gods and the marvellous smithy of Hephæstus. The effect of the change can hardly be over-estimated. We have had a day of crowded emotion and excitement; we have felt the rush of conquest and the terror of defeat; our hearts have been torn with sympathy for each side in turn, for the doomed

Troy, for Hector and Andromache, for the Achaians in their dread, for Achilles in his punishment. We are at the very heart of the tragedy. The evening has come, and there is a natural pause.[1]

The terrible day is over, and the sacred darkness has fallen, and now with no undue abruptness, still united to the tragedy by the mournful figure of Thetis, we are gently taken away to the starry house of Hephæstus and the fairy world of handicraft and rest. Like the similes in the battle, the change at once relieves and heightens the tragic impression of the whole. It is the same art at work that later on

[1] I suggest a rough provisional "time-table" for the events of the day. Although I would not, as a rule, attach great importance to a poet's sense of time, nor think it well to read him watch in hand, still it is interesting to observe that the poem provides, as a matter of fact, ample room in one day for all that is assumed to happen. And, what is more important, the "time-table" fits in exactly with all the indications of time that are given in what, on other grounds, has been taken for the original poem. I have supposed a summer's day. Though nothing is definitely stated as to this, it seems to be taken for granted; no mention is made of wintry weather, while stress is laid on the sunlight, and the dust and heat. Indeed it seems to be a sunstroke that brings about Patroclus' death.

A.M. 5–8.	Arming of the Achaians ("early dawn," ii. 48); meeting of the armies, and the duel (Bks. ii., iii.).
„ 8–9.	Breaking of the oaths, Agamemnon's review, and the opening of the fight (Bks. iv., v., and vi. init.).
„ 9–10.	Hector in Troy (vi. med. and fin.).
„ 10–12.	Return of Hector (xi. 84: "The hour indicated is about 9 or 10"—Leaf, *ad loc.*); rout of the Greeks; battle at the wall and at the ships (Bks. xi., xii., xv. fin.).
M.–P.M. 12–2.30.	Patroclus to the rescue; rout of the Trojans (xvi. 777: "The time indicated is early afternoon"—Leaf, *ad loc.*) (Bk. xvi.).
P.M. 2.30–7.30.	Death of Sarpedon and Patroclus; struggle round the body of Patroclus; retreat of the Greeks, and the appearance of Achilles at the trench (Bks. xvii., xviii.). (xviii. 241, sunset.)

It will be observed that the greatest part of the day's fighting is taken up with the rescue led by Patroclus and the contest over his body. This is well, for not only is the exploit of Patroclus the turning-point of the tale, the stress of the situation is greater if we conceive Achilles waiting long for his friend's return. And, what is more, this harmonises exactly with the emphasis laid on the length of the struggle in xvii., "hour after hour," "all day long" (384). It also justifies to a certain extent Thetis' excited, exaggerated account of how they fought "all day long at the Skaian gate" (xviii. 453).

produced in the drama the great device of the choruses. And the effect gains in breadth and grandeur by the character of the scenes that are inlaid upon the shield. Why are they described in such fulness and with such exuberant delight? Not merely because the poet wanted to make a magic piece of workmanship in the fashion of his day, but because at this moment his mind turned instinctively for rest and strengthening to larger pictures of life, away from the passion and turmoil of these individual sorrows to general views of other lives in peace and war, to other battles and other sieges, to marriages and dances, and trials at law, to vintages, and ploughing, and all the work of the fields. Troy may fall and Achilles' life be wrecked, but the world goes on as before. The tragedy is at once more pathetic and more bearable when seen in the larger setting.

Possibly it may be noticed here, that so far, with the exception of the Assembly in Book ii. and the Embassy to Achilles in ix., all the most famous scenes of the Iliad, all that sticks in the memory, all the glorious passages that innocent readers have, from time immemorial, instinctively assumed as due to one master-hand, all these come into our selection, and all the duller cantos, all the parts where Homer "nods," have fallen away. The curious effect of intermittent slumber that Horace noticed is now explained. It would be very faulty criticism to have built up our selection with an eye to this, or to have taken splendour as the one test of primitiveness, but when through an independent analysis a whole emerges that is not only solid and coherent but also flawless in beauty and in power, the result may certainly be said to be satisfactory. And this result is attained by no complicated system of endless *remaniements* with their endless difficulties: one has only, as it were, to give the poem a shake, and the loose additions drop away.

NOTE.—Assumed Original from the Appeal of Patroclus to the Making of the Armour (xvi.; xvii. 1–458, 593 to end; xviii.).

CHAPTER VII

THE DEATH OF HECTOR

We now draw swiftly to the terrible vengeance of Achilles. The opening of xix. is bound up with the making of the armour, and the next scene, in which Achilles is reconciled to Agamemnon, has been dealt with already (chap. iii.). Reason has been shown for omitting the passages connected with the Embassy and the discussion on breakfast; but otherwise the development of the story follows exactly the lines we might expect. So far as I know, no other part of xix. has even been traversed as either inconsistent or obscure: such arguments as are brought against any part of it are based on the supposed "unnaturalness." But surely it is most natural that Achilles should refuse to touch food in the fever of his excitement, that the mere thought of it should bring a rush of agonised memories about a friend who once spread the board for him and did all the kindly offices Patroclus would have been so sure to do. It seems to me, therefore, that we have a perfect right to use all the details here as evidence for the original conception of Achilles' character; to note in particular his cry of anguish for his father, old, helpless, waiting for the tidings of his son's death (xix. 334–337). We have already had a hint before of his love for his father (in his words to Patroclus during the rout, xvi. 15, 16). It is a subtle and poignant touch that he should express it more fully now, when the agony of Patroclus' loss and the knowledge of his own doom are heavy upon him. But what a wonderful preparation the cry makes for the visit of Priam in xxiv.! And in general the whole Canto makes us feel that the man

who can sorrow for his father and his friend as Achilles sorrows, the man who can relent as he has relented, the man who can give up his own wrath against the aggressor and confess his own fault with such noble frankness, this man is not one who cannot be touched by the sorrows of his foes, once the fury of his vengeance is over. The poet who wrote this Book must have known enough about the human heart to know that.

The end of xix. is generally admitted to be original, and so I may pass over it quickly. But I must dwell a little on the portent of the speaking horse, and point out how much it gains in interest and in pathos, if we may remember what precedes. We love the horses to begin with, if we have heard about their grief for their fallen charioteer (xvii. 426 ff.), when they stood on the battle-field like statues, refusing to stir from their place. Indeed without this knowledge we should miss the point of the horse Xanthus finding a voice at Achilles' unfair reproach that they had deserted Patroclus on the field. And Achilles' answer to the prophecy of his doom is (as I have indicated above, p. 67) far more touching, courageous, and significant, if we realise that Thetis has already told him that his death must come at once if he takes the vengeance he desires. The horse speaks true, but there is no need of the portent, and no portents will stop Achilles now. "I know well enough myself that it is my fate to perish here, far from my father and my mother. None the less I will not hold my hand till the Trojans are sick of war" (xix. 421).

But in dealing with the next Book the results of the critical school can be accepted with gratitude; for the delay in the action up to xx. 381 is nothing short of astounding. Dr. Leaf points out that the opening (1–74) seems originally designed to serve as a prologue for the Battle of the Gods in xxi., when that was sung as a separate piece. It is out of place in the continuous poem; for there is no room for it in xxi. as xxi. now stands, and in this Book

the "unabating battle" that it leads us to expect (xx. 31) has to abate at once (xx. 136). Dr. Leaf adds a significant note: "That the . . . change from tumultuous frenzy to peaceful indifference . . . should have been left untouched does more credit to the pious conservatism than to the skill of the editor" ("Iliad," vol. ii. p. 348). Here he seems to me to lay his finger exactly on the right clue for disentangling the interpolations at large. It is "pious conservatism" and not subtle skill that has given the Iliad its final shape.

For the objections against the next section (xx. 75–380) I cannot do better than continue my quotation: "Far from having any special appropriateness to this part of the war, it is glaringly inconsistent with its context. Achilles issues from the camp burning with the fury of insatiable revenge; yet his advice to his very first adversary is to go away 'lest some harm befall him'" (xx. 196). "In the whole of this speech (178–198) there is not one word belonging to the situation. Achilles is in a merciful and indeed bantering mood." On the other hand, the piece would do well enough if composed for a time *before* the death of Patroclus, and for that we may suppose it was originally made. But if it was to be put in the body of the fixed Iliad, it would have to come here or hereabouts, since Achilles does not appear on the field before: and "pious conservatism" has put it in. The leap that the poem takes at 381—"But Achilles sprang on the Trojans, clothed in his valour, crying his terrible cry"—leaves little doubt where the original tale of vengeance was resumed.

As regards xxi., we may agree also in discarding from it the "Battle of the Gods" (383–521), an interlude out of place in this part of the story and out of harmony with its spirit, and also Achilles' fight with the River which precedes it (xxi. 228–382). The Fight is a magnificent poem, but it detains us so long from Troy, that it is impossible to understand how, if their foe was thus engaged, the flying Trojans could have been as hard

pressed as we are told they were (xxi. 527). Moreover, by its superhuman marvels it overtops the excitement of the coming struggle with Hector. The line in the original that prompted its creation may well be found in Achilles' fierce boast, that the River will not save his worshippers in their peril (xxi. 130 ff.). We must discard also the preceding "death of Asteropaius" and its sequel (136–227),[1] for this is obviously "a weaker echo" of the "death of Lycaon" immediately before.

But the death of Lycaon (xxi. 34–135) is not only perfect in itself: it is admitted to fit well into its place and to show no inconsistency; indeed Priam's touching reference to this son of his in the next Book (xxii. 46) actually presupposes it, and the critic must be a bold man who offers to tear that reference away. Now if the scene of Lycaon's death is original, we must admit several things; first, that just before the final scene with Hector, the poet has made our hearts bleed for Priam and the Trojans by this pitiful death of Priam's son; secondly, that he has laid emphasis afresh on the former possibilities of mercy in Achilles' heart (see above, c. iii.). True, such mercy is now a fountain sealed, but one day will it not flow again? It is unbearable grief that has checked it, and there is a kind of grief that can work out its own cure. The centre of the situation is given by Achilles' own words; unsurpassed for their mingling of pity and bitterness, of love and hate: "Poor lad, no pleading and no ransom can avail you now. Once, when Patroclus lived, I would give

[1] Most scholars recognise "an awkward joint" just here (xxi. 223–228, see Leaf, *ad loc.*). I think he has certainly discovered the right solution, viz. that ll. 223–227 closed the Asteropaius addition to the poem with the River's successful appeal to Achilles to leave his waters in peace, and l. 228 began the next (and far finer) extension, describing the encounter between the god and the hero in the river-bed. I should like to add that l. 227, "So saying he (*i.e.* Achilles) dashed after the Trojans like a destroying god," might well have belonged at first to the original poem, taking us from Achilles' cry of triumph over the slaughter at the ford (l. 135) to the resumption of his pursuit at l. 522.

the Trojans quarter and sell them beyond the sea, but none shall escape me now whom the gods deliver into my hands, and above all, not one of Priam's sons. Die, my friend! You must die too. Why should you lament? Patroclus is dead, and he was a better man than you" (xxi. 99–107).

And now we come to what is called "the final act": the death of Hector beneath the walls. Let us note carefully what it needs for its own effect.

Dr. Leaf himself[1] has said, that at the opening of this struggle we feel that "a still greater matter, the fate of Troy, is virtually settled." We do indeed, but whence does the feeling spring? From iii. and iv. and vi. and xii.; from our knowledge of the decision in heaven, of the breaking of the oaths on earth, of the vital importance of Hector to Troy. But iii. and iv. and vi. and xii. on the theory of the "Wrath" do not belong to the original poem at all. The advocates of the "Wrath" have no right to the feeling, and must give up the lurid background of doom which forms so splendid a setting to the whole. Here, as so often, scholarship has been the bane of scholars. The Iliad is too familiar to them; they cannot think away what they cut away.

The prayers of Priam and Hecuba from the walls are, it is admitted, at least in substance original. But how much they lose in pathos if we know nothing about the old king and queen, if they have never even seen them before! Our sympathy with Hecuba's last appeal to Hector[2] is infinitely more tender if we have already known her as the mother who would always see in the warrior the little child at her breast. The thought of Priam's anguish is infinitely more piercing if we remember that he could not bear to watch even Paris fighting for his life,[3] if we think that the last time we saw him on the walls was in his gracious dignity and kindly talk with

[1] "Companion," p. 354. [2] xxii. 79–89. [3] iii. 304–307.

Helen,[1] if we realise that the gods have already decided that Troy must be sacked,[2] and his worst fears fulfilled.[3]

And the scene points forward as well as back. It is incredible that any poet could have introduced a father and mother watching the life-and-death struggle of their idolised son, and never tell us so much as whether they saw the end or not. And if we keep the scene that tells of this (405 ff.), how are we to tear from it the lines that tell us also of the old man's resolve to go and entreat the conqueror for the body of his son? (416 ff.). And when once the suggestion has been made, how could poet or reader rest until it had been fulfilled? Nor is this the only passage in xxii. where the pregnant hint is given. At the very moment of the slaying, Achilles vows he will take no ransom for the corpse, "not even if Priam himself were to offer your weight in gold" (347). And is this the first time, we may ask, that Achilles, even the Achilles of the "Menis," has made a cruel vow which he will not keep? (xvi. 61 ff.).

We come to the deliberations of Hector (99–130). Here it is scarcely too much to say that they only become luminous when read in the light of passages cut away by the advocates of the "Wrath." We can understand how he thought of offering to give up Helen and her wealth (111–120), if we know that both were fairly forfeited by the result of the duel in iii. Otherwise the thought is almost a piece of treachery, all the more pusillanimous after the high dreams of honour in the lines just before (99–110). We can understand his reluctance to enter the city and face the reproaches of the people when we have learnt from his words to Andromache what honour means to him. The repetition of the line, "I could not face the Trojans and the women of Troy," here and in vi. is not without significance. And it is only the thought of that scene with his wife that can make his last words

[1] iii. init. [2] iv. init. [3] xxii. 59 ff.

(126–129) intelligible to us at all. He rejects the idea of parley with Achilles: "I cannot talk with him in love and kindliness, as youth and maiden talk—as youth and maiden meet by rock and tree and talk together.[1] Hector has his death before his eyes; he knows that Achilles is a better man than he; he dare not let himself think of Andromache by name, but, unbidden and half-veiled, a symbol of their love rises and lingers in his heart. The repetition of "youth and maiden," though admired by the ancient critics, is considered by some of the moderns as "a superfluous prettiness hardly suiting the surroundings." And so perhaps might we consider it if we thought the surroundings were limited to xxii. The connection between xxii. and vi. is indeed so intimate that M. Croiset, who calls attention to it,[2] holds that vi., though due to a different poet, was yet written *before* xxii., and influenced its composition! an admission that comes dangerously near the

[1] Although so much difficulty has been felt about the meaning of the phrase "ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης" (l. 126) "by rock or tree" (or "from rock or tree," the preposition being ambiguous), I can see no reason why it should not be taken here simply as giving the background to the pictured meeting, in spite of the fact that it has an entirely different colour in Od. xix. 163, where Penelope asks Odysseus to tell her of his race, "for you are not sprung," she adds, "from rock or tree." Set phrases of this kind, it has been noticed, can vary much in meaning according to the varying context. Browning, for instance, uses our own proverbial "stock and stone" in two completely different ways, viz.—

> "The water slips o'er stock and stone."
> ("By the Fireside.")

> "Why, men! men and not boys! boys and not brutes!
> Brutes and not stocks and stones!"
> ("The Ring and the Book.")

I do not think it fanciful to add that Hector is standing near the Scaian gate *and the oak tree*, and close to the spot where he parted from his wife for the last time. Nor yet that the rare and beautiful word ὀαριζέμεναι which he repeats here (127, 128) is the very word used by the poet in Book vi. for that last talk between the husband and the wife (vi. 516). In English we have no single word, at once familiar and dignified, by which to translate it: its natural meaning is the speech which is the speech of love, and it is only the tyranny of a theory that could find that meaning out of place here.

[2] *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque*, vol. i. p. 162.

old jest that Homer was not written by Homer, but by another poet of the same name.

It might seem unnecessary to add that the preceding books have shown us Hector's weakness as well as his strength; his rashness and his liability to momentary panic, as well as his patriotism and nobility and power of rising, in the end, superior to his own fears. We are thus led to expect and to dread and to hope for every turn of his mood, from the first doubts and waverings, through the disgrace of his flight, up to the noble stand which more than redeems it. These things seem obvious. But the simple-minded reader would have thought it just as obvious that the poet felt the pathos of Hector's fate, and yet some of the scholars who close our Iliad at xxii. meet us with the amazing argument that because we can and do feel the utmost sympathy with Hector in the midst of our exultation with Achilles, it does not follow that the poet could, rather the reverse. His sympathy was for Achilles, and Achilles alone; with the man who loved his friend, but not with the patriot who died for his city. Are we to admit this? And admit the inevitable inference that in writing the wonderful scene the poet most grossly miscalculated his own effect? For he has made all his readers mourn for Hector.

The position that involves these awkward conclusions is thought to derive support from the stress laid on the ferocity of Achilles, and on the help he receives from Athena. But the retort lies at hand, that this only shows the more how unsatisfactory it would be to end at xxii., with so jarring a triumph for the hero, aided as he is by luck, blinded by passion, unsoftened by a touch of relenting. Admit the stress to the full: it only shows that the poet stresses the discords to make us desire the harmony.

That it is a goddess who aids Achilles only confirms this view, though it has been thought to cut against it. It is forgotten that the action of the gods in Homer is not

necessarily conceived as directly "moral"; their intervention can represent, and is used again and again to represent, what Goethe might have called the "daimonic" element in things—whether in the heart of man or in external happenings—the mysterious, incalculable influences or accidents that help to decide the day, be they good or be they bad. Athena inspires Pandarus to break the oaths in Book iv.; the breaking is none the less treacherous and none the less known to be treacherous because of that. Apollo disables Patroclus by a sunstroke; the disablement is none the less pitiful, none the less a tragic heightening of the odds against Patroclus because the god has dealt the stroke. On the contrary, it is felt to be, as we say, *a cruel fate* that Patroclus should be sent reeling by a blow from the god just when his foes are waiting for their chance. The intervention of the gods in the fighting can never be understood unless this point is grasped: they are introduced again and again, not to suggest the poet's naïve satisfaction with the result, but to symbolise that element of "luck" which is also one element of "fate," for it is a very shallow criticism that does not see the two are inextricably bound together. It may be doubted whether the poet was altogether happy in his choice of a symbol, but the drift of the symbolism itself ought not to be doubtful. And in the work of the original poet it is used, daringly indeed, but always with sufficient discretion; never pressed so far as to make nonsense of the human fighting, so that a man's own skill might seem to go for nothing, yet often far enough for us to feel that the victor did not win without help from circumstance. And this external help (slight as it may be in itself) can discount the glory of victory and open our hearts to the fallen. This is essentially the case here. The help Athena actually gives to Achilles is singularly slight,[1] but the treacherous manner of

[1] She only restores his spear to him, and the swift-footed hero, no doubt, could have snatched it from the ground himself (xxii. 276, 277).

her intervention, the bitter pang of disappointment and loneliness that she causes Hector to endure, make our hearts ache for the doomed hero. That he should believe his brother Deïphobus is beside him and turn to him for another spear and find there is no man to help him, while Achilles gets back his own spear unobserved, all this makes us feel, with a kind of indignant pity, how cruelly the luck has turned against Hector—how completely the gods have forsaken him and left him to his fate, as he says himself. Do what he will now, his hour has come at last. "The gods have called him to his death." The inevitable result is a rush of sympathy for the man. Even with a lesser than Hector we should feel "that he was warring on his Destiny, and that ennobles all living souls."[1] And the feeling is intensified still further by his last heroic prayer to strike one more gallant stroke before he dies, a prayer that is denied. To hold that a sympathy so inevitable cannot have been foreseen by the poet is to credit him with a blundering to me inexplicable. Everything in his own fight from first to last has gone to build it up.

But there is no question of blundering once we admit that this terrible fight is not the end, that something more is to follow, something that will leave us at peace with Achilles and at rest in our grief for Hector and Hector's kin, something also that will make us feel that Zeus had not forgotten Hector, even in his death. Every longing that the poet himself has awakened is satisfied if after the fierceness of xxii. we have the tenderness of xxiv., if after the discord we have the resolution into the harmony of a sorrow that has learnt at last to understand the sorrows of an enemy, if after the sight of Hector dragged at the wheels of Achilles' car we look upon Hector in his father's arms.

So much does the "Menis" itself suggest and demand such a close, that if it had come down to us alone I believe

[1] G. Meredith, "Farina," c.

we should have been forced to the conclusion that it was a fragment and nothing more. The books of the "Wrath" are like the "Beauties" of Shakespeare, beautiful indeed even when taken alone, but a hundredfold more beautiful in their proper setting. And if it should turn out to be true that the setting which could give them this beauty was the work of later hands, still we must not let the diversity of authorship, if such it be, blind us to the character of the result produced. We must still read xxii. in the light of xxiv. (as well as in the light of iii. and vi. and xii.), or our loss will be incalculable. If Homer does not exist we must just invent him, for the sake of literature. But that so vital a unity can really be due to the work of many men separated in time from each other is to my mind almost incredible: "as well might it be said," to quote De Quincey's admirable words,[1] "that the parabola described by a cannon ball was in one half due to a first discharge, and in the other to a second, as that one poet could lay the preparation for the passion and sweep of such a poem, while another conducted it to a close." If De Quincey's view is right, many interesting conclusions would follow. Perhaps one of the most important would be that we should then have to recognise in the earliest Greek epic known to us those characteristic traits found elsewhere in the best Greek art: the imaginative sympathy with opposing points of view, the inner relation of part to part and to the whole, and the peculiar power of symmetric construction which could make the excitement and emotion rise inevitably ever higher and higher, with greater and greater stress and intensity and strain, till a topmost point was reached, and then, still through the same inevitable unfolding of its own inner nature, find a way to sink at last into rest and peace.

NOTE.—Assumed Original (from the Return of Achilles to the end): xix. 1–139, 270–277, 303 to end; xx. 381 to end; xxi. 1–135, 227, 522 to end; xxii.; xxiii. 1–797, 884 to end; xxiv.

[1] "Homer and the Homeridæ."

CHAPTER VIII

THE CLOSING SCENES

The truth of this conclusion will, I believe, appear the more plainly the more we examine the actual transition to the close. For this is effected with the most subtle skill. Swift as the change may be in Achilles' action from xxii. to xxiv. it is not felt as abrupt: in his character, we might almost say, there is no change at all but only growth. And it is Book xxiii. that enables us to feel this, and to feel it in a hundred ways.

Book xxii. closes with the outrage of his triumph. The wrong of it is emphasised by the poet's undertone of grave pity for the fallen: "Zeus had given Hector to his enemies that day, to be dishonoured in his own native land" (xxii. 403–404). It is emphasised again by the pitiful wailings of Andromache and Hecuba in Troy, all the more pitiful because they are known to be incomplete; those who love Hector cannot even hold his body in their arms and weep out their hearts over him. Our sympathies almost swing away in revolt from Achilles: but at the opening of xxiii. the outburst of agony for his loss brings us back to him again. His dream that night, when sleep falls on him at last after the murderous struggle of the day, and his dead friend seems to stand beside him, and bid him farewell, and counsel him for the last time—that dream goes into our hearts like a knife. When he springs up between sleeping and waking and cries out that he believes he has seen the spirit of his friend, that it was just like him, and told him everything he ought to do, we are ready to say once more that after all Achilles is very

young, and it is only the passion of youth that has led his generous heart astray. In his sleep he does not think of revenge and cruelty, he thinks of the man he loved. Yet we see the next moment just *how* that passion can pervert him for the time. It is the savage element in his very grief that makes him kill twelve Trojan youths and slaughter his friend's own dogs to fling them into the pyre: "Black deeds were in his heart that day" (xxiii. 176).[1]

And then, after that, when the night comes once more the poet shows us the tall figure dragging himself wearily round the pyre, mourning as a father might mourn for a son who has died on his marriage-day. It is for a moment as though Achilles had grown old before his time, and perhaps that is the only way in which passionate souls like his can grow at all. But Achilles is not only a soul of passion, he is the son of a hero and a goddess, and the powers of dignity, self-restraint, and courtesy are also his. We see all this during the Funeral Games that follow. And we see a great deal more, if our eyes are open, till we are almost tempted to say that this Book is the most amazing of all the poet's achievements. Certainly we can echo Schiller's saying that the man who has read Book xxiii. need not feel he has lived in vain. But this can only be if we read it—as Schiller, being a poet, doubtless did—in connection with what came before and what comes after.

The connection with what comes before has been doubted, because it is said that the wounded heroes could hardly have recovered sufficiently to take part in active

[1] Once more I am impelled to supplement my own words by the words of Professor Murray: "The wonderful thing that Homer does is to make you understand Achilles' state of mind. The cruelties which he practises are those of a man mad with grief, a man starving and sleepless, who, when he yields at last, yields in a burst of helpless tears. And it makes some difference, also, that Achilles is deliberately giving up his own life. He heaps all that he has, as it were, upon the pyre of the friend whom his own petulance and pride has caused to die" ("Rise of the Greek Epic," p. 132). In a note Professor Murray, with the true instinct for a poetic whole, brings together from xxiv. *and* the "Menis" the passages that go to prove this.

games. But the only wounded hero who makes any great exertion is Odysseus; and stress is laid upon his exceptional strength and skill (xxiii. 787–792). The two Ajaxes, Eumelus, Meriones, Antilochus, Epeius, Euryalus, have not been wounded at all. Menelaus was wounded, but only slightly, and he and Diomede only take part in the chariot-race. Moreover, they have all had three nights and two days in which to recuperate. And, finally, they are, one and all, heroes of the god-like past. We may therefore, I think, discard this objection as superficial and turn to the merits of the Book.

It is only the first and most obvious of these that it relieves the strain of the continuous lamentation in xxii. and xxiv., that by its broad and genial, even broadly humorous, treatment it reminds us (as the Making of the Shield did in its own way) that there are other things in the world than a broken heart, and that life is not, and should not be, one cry of self-bewailing. Nothing could be more poignant, and nothing could endear Achilles more to us, than the contrast between his courteous, kindly presidency at the scene of games and mirth, and the unhealed wound in his heart which opens out afresh when he is left alone in xxiv. But all through that bright scene his pain is felt as an undertone, and those who say that the Elizabethans were the first to unite tragedy and comedy would do well to study this. Everything that Achilles says and does shows it, and what is more, what is a kind of miracle of construction, the scene in whole and in detail is so planned as to call up the past again before us, and make us feel again and again the sting of its sharp lessons. Achilles at least feels it. When Idomeneus and Ajax, the son of Oïleus, quarrel over a trifle and the quarrel threatens, because of "angry words," to go beyond words, when Idomeneus wishes his proud opponent "to learn that he is wrong and pay for his mistake," who is it that stands up and stops the strife? Who is it but the man that remem-

bers how he felt the same wish and used the same words? (xxiii. 473–498). We should compare with this scene the whole scene of the first quarrel in Book i., and note especially the use of the word *apênês*, a rare and untranslatable word, "proud" in the bad sense, denoting a hard and unforgiving pride. It is only used four times (if I am right) in the Original Iliad, and each time with point. First by Achilles of Agamemnon (i. 340); then by Patroclus when he reproaches Achilles himself for not giving up his wrath (xvi. 35); then here (xxiii. 484), by Idomeneus to Ajax, when it strikes home to Achilles' conscience; and lastly (again in this Book, l. 611), by Menelaus, when he sets the example of sweetness and generosity and claims that his was never an unforgiving heart. It is almost as though the motto for the whole tale of blood and vengeance was just this: it is not well to be hard of heart—forgiveness is the best. Patroclus is the model for us after all, older and wiser than his faulty, glorious friend, Patroclus the kindly, the man who is known as *enêês*, Patroclus the gentle and humane.[1] In the Iliad as in the Odyssey it is those who can settle men's quarrels who are wise (Od. vii. 73–74). Achilles almost admits as much in so many words, almost confesses his initial fault again, and the gentle, even faltering, tone in which he says it is infinitely touching:

"Ajax and Idomeneus, let us have no more angry words; they are not right. And you yourselves, I know, both of you, can blame another man for using them" (492–494).

Again two scenes of anger follow, and again in each of them the rising quarrel is averted by Achilles, and in each of them we are reminded of Book i.

[1] Is it possible that *apênês* is actually set in verbal opposition to *enêês*? At any rate *enêês* appears *only* to be applied to Patroclus (and to him often) except in this Book (and the exception is noteworthy), where Nestor lays claim to the epithet (648).

First Antilochus claims that he is robbed of his rightful prize, and then Menelaus, with more justice, does the same.

Antilochus has been second in the chariot-race, but Eumelus, the best man of all, has had his car overturned by an unlucky accident; and Achilles proposes, with ready sympathy, that he should be given the second prize to make amends.

But Antilochus resists the well-meant proposal; he refuses to give up the mare he has won. "I will not give her up," he says, just as Agamemnon said he would not let Chryseis go. "Let who will," he adds defiantly, "come and fight for her" (xxiii. 553–554).

Through likeness and through contrast there is brought back to us Achilles' proud refusal to fight for a prize that was given him as a free gift, though he would fight for whatever else he had: Agamemnon, if he chose, might come and try (i. 298–302).[1] This is a little matter that men are quarrelling over in their games, but what did Achilles quarrel over himself? It cannot seem much to him now. This quarrel at least shall go no further, and he will give an additional prize for the sake of peace (555–562).

But the introduction of Menelaus and Antilochus has further results for us, and very wonderful these are. The last time we saw the two together was on the battlefield at the desperate struggle to save Patroclus' body; the last race that Antilochus ran was to take Achilles the awful news (xvii. fin.). The memories of the disastrous past are coming thick about us, and the special indulgence that Achilles shows to Antilochus gives a keen edge to them all (xxiii. 556, 794–796). It is very characteristic of his passionate nature that he cannot do enough for the man

[1] I think the verbal echoes are intentional between i. 298–302, 29 on the one hand and xxiii. 553–554 on the other. There seems to be intention also in the similar stress on the staff of judgment grasped by Achilles in i. (234 ff.) and by Menelaus in xxiii. (566 ff.), where each is protesting against unfair treatment.

who told him Patroclus was killed and held his hands lest he should kill himself (xviii. init.). It would either be that, or a refusal ever to see the man again. When Antilochus races once more and stands once more panting before him, but this time in mirth and not in agony, Achilles answers with a smile and gives him a prize above his due (xxiii. 785 ff.).

And now Antilochus and Menelaus are at strife. Menelaus claims that the prize of Antilochus was unfairly won, as indeed it was. But both the men remember the sweetness of their proved friendship even in their present irritation; indeed there actually rises to Menelaus' lips, in the midst of his reproaches, the very phrase of address, courteous, and almost caressing, with which he had called to the younger man in his need: "Come hither, Antilochus, nursling of the gods"[1] (xvii. 685; xxiii. 581). And this remembrance makes us long all the more that the rising feud between the old friends should be allayed, a longing that is perfectly satisfied by the lovely close, when the contest turns to a contest of generosity, and the kind heart of Menelaus is glad at the change, "as the ripening corn is glad when the dew falls on the ears." No poet ever wrote lines more adequate to the beauty of reconciliation than these (597–600). They can stand beside the mercy-speech of Shakespeare, and Isaiah's wistful prophecy of "the cloud of dew in the heat of harvest." Æschylus must have remembered them when he took the metaphor and gave it the terrible turn that could make it express Clytemnestra's fierce thrill of delight in the touch of the blood-drops that fulfilled her vengeance.

With minds thus attuned to love reconciliation we are made to look back on all that has happened since the disastrous day of the quarrel.

At the very opening Achilles speaks of his horses, the

[1] It is noted by commentators as "curious" that Antilochus should be called by this epithet here.

immortal horses, who could win every race, but who will not race to-day: they stand with their heads drooping and their manes trailing on the ground, just as we saw them when Patroclus lay dead upon the field (xxiii. 271–284; xvii. 426–440). Then the horses of Eumelus are brought forward, the darlings of Apollo, who were singled out as the second-best on that first day of the great attack, when the host marched out in such glory and confidence (xxiii. 288, 289; ii. 763–767). Then the horses bred by Tros that Diomede won at the outset of the fight, the chief of his exploits, when the traitor Pandarus who broke the truce was killed. Sthenelus who caught the steeds is here to tend them now (xxiii. 290–292, 510–513; v. 259 ff.). Athena, too, will aid her favourite in the game as she aided him in the fight. And after Menelaus and Antilochus comes Meriones, the man who helped to carry the dead Patroclus home (xxiii. 293–302; xvii. 717 ff.). And Idomeneus is watching, whom Meriones sent back to the ships in his own car when the turn of the fight had come (xxiii. 450 ff.; xvii. 620 ff.). And Nestor is here too, with his well-meant but not always effective counsels, and his interminable tales. He has a precious goblet given to him to-day, to set beside the treasured bowl in which his mess was served when Patroclus came to ask about Machaon, in the hour that was "the beginning of his doom" (xxiii. 616, 617; xi. 632 ff.). And the same memories of his young days are on the old man's lips, the same talk about Bouprasion and the sons of Aktor and the chiefs of the Epeians (xxiii. 629 ff.; xi. 670 ff.). Achilles listens patiently to the reminiscences that seemed so unending to us then. And Ajax and Odysseus, who last stood side by side facing the Trojan rush, stand up now for a friendly wrestling-match (xxiii. 708 ff.; xi. 485 ff.). And once more Achilles sees to it that the struggle does not end in bitterness and that the competitors are given equal prizes (xxiii. 735). The foot-race follows, and what is the prize for this? The silver

bowl that was once the price paid for Lycaon, Priam's son, now, like Hector, lying dead (xxiii. 746, 747; xxi. 41). And the race itself, the neck-and-neck struggle between two men, most strangely does it bring back to us the desperate race round the walls of Troy when the course was fixed and the prize was set, but the prize for which the racers ran was Hector's life. Then comes the laughter over the accident at the end, when Athena makes one of the rivals trip—where? Where, but in the offal of the cattle slain for the dead Patroclus? (xxiii. 776). Nothing but the daring of a supreme poet could have achieved this union of the grotesque and the pathetic.

Last of all (xxiii. 884 ff.[1]), Agamemnon comes forward to try for a prize, but this time Achilles will run no risk of irritating his restless vanity. With a finished grace that veils his shrewd knowledge of the king, he takes it for granted that Agamemnon's skill can need no testing, and he gives him the first prize without a contest. Meriones receives the second, but the first and best is put into the hand of the herald who came to take Briseis from her rightful lord (xxiii. 897; i. 320 ff.).

What a review it is that we have here! The poet does not tell us what Achilles thought and felt when he saw behind the present the spectral past. He does a much better thing: he makes *us* see it for ourselves, and then, with the ghosts of it in the air, he shows us Achilles, outwardly calm and self-possessed.

Nor is this review and the pause it involves without a most important place in the structure of the epic as a whole. As at the beginning, after the first stroke of the opening, we had the pause involved in the duel and the review of the chiefs, and thus gained both a clear knowledge of the actors who were to do so much later on, and a

[1] The most conservative scholars are agreed that 798–883 is a later interpolation (see Monro, *ad loc.*, and Lang, Leaf, and Myers' translation of the Iliad).

consciousness of the great background for their deeds, so here, we pause once more before the final close, and look back in a calmer, sadder temper on all that we have gone through. And as the first review and the first pause led of their own nature to the turmoil of the central strife, so does this scene draw our interest on to the end; the desire for reconciliation, the sense that Achilles has wronged himself as well as Hector by yielding to a ferocity that is not the deepest part of his character, the longing that Hector as well as Patroclus should have the full dues of mourning —all these emotions are intensified in us by every touch of this Canto, and all of them demand Book xxiv.

Thus the two pauses, the one at the beginning and the one at the close, serve to bind the whole poem together and add a noble steadiness and balance to its fiery speed. It may not be fantastic to trace here the same genius at work as the one that discovered the right rhythm for the pedimental groups, and devised the stately opening and the measured close for the drama.

The correspondence between beginning and end finds further expression in Book xxiv., where the twelve days' pause while the gods are away at the Ethiopian feast recalls the twelve days of inaction at the outset (see c. ii.). And this effect is enhanced by the last visit of Thetis to her son, bidding him put all thought of vengeance away: her first visit was in answer to his demand for it.

It is of less importance, perhaps, to point out that this Book can serve as a valuable test for the genuineness of the selections already made on other grounds. Most of the detailed correspondences have been mentioned, but it is interesting to note that in the Games the character of Menelaus takes a prominent place, and a place that corresponds with his part in the war. Ajax, Odysseus, and Diomede may outdo him in physical strength and in skill, as they do both here and on the field, but no one has a character more generous and attractive, and character

strikes deep. We think of his eagerness at the outset that Trojans and Greeks alike should suffer no more for his sake (iii. 97 foll.), as of his gratitude here for what Nestor and his sons have done for him (607 foll.); we remember how he was the first to hear the cry of Odysseus in distress (xi. 463); we remember how he stood by the dead Patroclus at the risk of his own life, all through that fearful struggle (xvii.). He is wise too, and prudent, as was shown in his caution about the oaths in iii. when he knew that Paris might break faith, but Priam's word would be sure.[1] And his speech then was both courteous and to the point, as it is here, and as he had given the Trojans occasion to know that it could be (iii. 213–215). This general effect of his fine nature is obscured in the Iliad as we have it now, because so many other incidents intervene to blur it, but here, in what I hope is the recovered original, it is unmistakable, and it has at least one striking result. Set against the irresponsible thoughtless charm of Paris it leaves us without a shadow of doubt that Menelaus is in the right, and that the doom of Troy is just. We cannot but acquiesce in it, although with heavy hearts.

Book xxiv. has that sublimity which makes one shrink from touching it. To point out its beauty would be much like saying that the close of "Lear" is written with considerable power. It may be left to speak for itself, and indeed even those who question its "authenticity" never dream of questioning its supreme greatness and truth. But two or three remarks may be offered concerning the general structure of the Book. The closing repetition of the Trojan dirges in a fuller form has been considered flat and weak, but it seems to me that the weakness is only produced when we have first insisted on cutting out xxiii., and thus have brought the lamentations of xxii. and xxiv. into a juxtaposition that was never meant. The inter-

[1] Antilochus in the Games appeals to, and recalls, Menelaus' own judgment about the lightness of youth (xxiii. 589, 590; iii. 108, 110).

vention of the lapse—and such a lapse, filled with honour to the enemy—makes all the difference. Then the repetition, being what it is, produces a singularly satisfying effect. It is the resumption, and also the completion, of an incomplete strain: it is like hearing a tentative melody taken up and brought to a full close in some great symphony. Moreover, the presence of the three women, Hecuba, Andromache, and Helen, round the dead Hector on his bier, their presence and their characteristic utterances, bring back to us, very vividly and poignantly, the memory of their speech with the living man in vi. The poem, as it were, folds in upon itself, with all its gathered memories.

Last of all, it seems worth saying that the final reconciliation between the two noble enemies, between Achilles and Priam, for a reconciliation it is—though the war must be resumed and go on to the death—is actually brought about in and through the very bitterness and agony of the strife. And this because the strife, however bitter, never loses its hold on nobility. It is the slaughter of Priam's son that brings the father and the slayer face to face, and it is revenge that led to that slaughter; true; but it was revenge for a beloved friend, it was revenge knowingly undertaken at the cost of the avenger's life. And the man who fell was well-beloved too, and those who loved him, they too were of the mettle that could encounter death. From the first the opposing sides are set in fierce opposition, growing ever fiercer, and yet each, in virtue of its own nobleness, has that in it which could recognise the other: they are drawn nearer and nearer by the clutch of the terrible struggle: they meet face to face, and behold, at the heart they are friends. It is in this way and in no other that we are led finally to what we have long dreaded, long felt to be inevitable, and at last ardently desired, the consummation of the burial rites for Hector, tamer of horses.

CHAPTER IX

THE STYLE AND LANGUAGE OF ILIAD XXIII. AND XXIV.

In the first chapter of this book I described as baseless the arguments for diversity of authorship drawn from the supposed change of style in Iliad xxiii. and xxiv. I must now bring forward my justification for such a description. It is true that these arguments have been considered of the greatest value by leading scholars. Jebb goes so far as to say: "If Books xxiii. and xxiv. are viewed simply in relation to the plot, there is no reason why they should not have belonged to the primary Iliad itself. It is the internal evidence of language and style which makes this improbable" (*op. cit.*, p. 161). In spite of the high and deserved authority attaching to the name of Jebb, I hope to show that he was relying here upon entirely inadequate statistics.[1]

In such questions indeed the necessity for wide statistics and thoughtful examination cannot be urged too strongly. The business of weighing these minute matters is so delicate and difficult, that to overlook is often to falsify. The usual line of argument has been to call attention to the Odyssean affinities in Iliad xxiii. and xxiv., and there to let the matter rest. Now I have no wish whatever to deny Odyssean affinities in xxiii. and xxiv. (believing, as I do, that the Original Iliad and the Odyssey are by the same poet):

[1] I may say also that to admit a slight change of style in Iliad xxiii. and xxiv. would not really hamper my theory. It would be a tenable hypothesis that the poet had developed in his style during the elaboration of his work, and that he exhibited his "second manner" at the close of his poem; but the hypothesis is unnecessary.

but the vital question is whether these affinities are greater than the affinities displayed by other parts of the Original Iliad, including the "Menis" itself. No adequate attempt seems to have been made at such a comparison, and if it is made, an entirely different complexion is put on the whole affair. For instance, it is said that Iliad xxiv. shows a large number of Odyssean lines and phrases (lines and phrases, that is, which only recur in the Odyssey). Perfectly true, but then the first Book of the "Menis," Iliad i. A, shows quite as high a proportion, and that if we omit the lines 430*b*–489, which are suspected solely on the ground of their Odyssean character. In Appendix B. (1) I have given as full a list as I can make of such passages from both these Books. It is drawn mainly from Schmidt's *Parallel-Homer*, checked by Ebeling's Lexicon. I have not included on either side false parallels, such as *αἰδέομαι περὶ κηρὶ* (Il. xxiv. 435), and *αἰδέομαι· περὶ γάρ μ' ἐφίλει* (Od. xiv. 146). Nor have I counted any phrases of less than four words which happen to be so like similar phrases elsewhere as to possess no significance at all. Some of the instances contain more than one line, but I have counted each instance as one, for where there is more than one line a repetition is in the nature of a "run." My results give—for Book i. A:—102 instances in 551 lines; for Book xxiv. Ω:—126 instances in 804. The proportion is actually lower for Book xxiv.[1]

Again, a high proportion of purely Odyssean words is claimed for xxiv. Ω. But a proportion just as high or even higher can be found for xxii. X, an essential Book of the "Menis" (omitting the suspected portion as later, 405 to end). Ebeling's invaluable lexicon gives:—for the "Menis" part of xxii. X, 26 Odyssean words in 404 lines; for xxiv. Ω,

[1] I am aware, both for this case and for all the following, that my enumeration may be defective. I do not think, however, that the broad results can be wrong: as the different tests I have applied agree. And in many instances I have the support of inquiries already made by scholars. I shall, of course, be grateful for any correction.

50 in 804. Further, 4 of these 50 are doubtful; and in the first 404 lines of Ω there are only 19 Odyssean words, as against the 26 of X (see Appendix B. 2). Many of the words in Ω, moreover, occur in the "Odyssean" lines already counted above. I have marked such words with a star (*).[1]

These results, I think, are enough to give us pause. And they are only confirmed when we come to examine the syntax and the metre. This is a more complicated question, for to answer it we must also estimate how great the change really is in this respect between the Odyssey and the Original Iliad in general.

It may be pointed out, to begin with, that it is rash for those who do not believe in the unity of the Iliad to take the Iliadic instances from the poem as a whole without discrimination. For several of the usages claimed as typical only occur in certain special parts; *e.g.* τύνη only occurs in what I believe to be the original poem; and the *free* use of διὰ νύκτα is a trick of Book x. Moreover, it is plain that the proportion in the differences between the Iliad and Odyssey must vary, according as we conceive the Original Iliad to have been long or short. I have been careful therefore to catalogue the Iliadic instances according as they occur in the Additions or in what I believe to be the Original Iliad, noting any differences or likenesses between the "Menis" and xxiii. and xxiv.[2] I

[1] It may be added that Iliad i. and xxii. (A and X) are the only Books of the "Menis" suitable for comparison (in this respect) with Ω and the Odyssey. Book xi. Λ is too much taken up with fighting, and all the other Books are so much cut about by the critics that it is impossible to find an undisputed passage long enough for the purpose. But all of them would show a proportion of such purely "Odyssean" phrases. See Butler, "Authoress of the Odyssey," c. xiv.

[2] Attempt has sometimes been made to group together the usages in Iliad ix., x., xxiii., and xxiv., but this has not been satisfactory, because sufficient care has not been taken to compare these with other Books. There is only one instance of a possibly significant agreement between these four as against the Books of the "Menis," viz. the use of ἐπί c. acc. in ἐπ' αἶαν, ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους (see Appendix C.).

do not scruple to treat the Odyssey as a whole, believing that it is due in the main to one author,[1] and I would point out that most of the peculiarities claimed with any justice as Odyssean occur from first to last throughout that poem.

Again, it is misleading not to inquire into the reason for the prevalence of certain idioms in the Odyssey and the omission of others. When such inquiry is made it will be found that there is often no need to assume any development of idiom at all. The Odyssey is, in the main, comedy, and moreover it contains a far higher proportion of speech and dialogue than the Iliad. Many of the usages prevalent in the Odyssey, *e.g.* that of the *first* person of the optative with ἄν (κεν), *can* only occur in speeches. Others (*e.g.* μετά with the gen.) are deliberate colloquialisms, used for a comedic purpose.

Finally, it is most important to observe that many of the generalisations are based on a surprisingly small number of instances. Sometimes, indeed, there is not more than *one* instance available and often not more than three. It behoves us not to build much on these. It is dangerous also to include repetitions in the statistics without notice.

Applying these tests to all the cases, it will be found that the imposing list of "Differences between the Iliad and Odyssey," as given by Jebb and Monro, crumbles into something very small. I do not wish to deny all difference and all development, but I do wish to raise the question whether the differences, when accurately estimated, do not prove to be much smaller than is usually supposed: so much smaller that it is in place to ask whether they are not exactly the kind of differences a poet might be expected to exhibit in passing, after a certain lapse of years, from one poem to another of a somewhat different type. The full evidence I have collected on this point will be found

[1] For my reasons, see cc. xi. ff.

in Appendix C.: it cannot be estimated in full without consulting the instances given there, but I may tabulate the main results in this chapter. The reader is asked to remember that two questions are at issue:—

(1) How great is the difference in grammar, diction, and metre between the Odyssey and the Original Iliad in general?

(2) Where such a difference exists, do Iliad xxiii. and xxiv. (Ψ and Ω) approximate to the Iliadic type or the Odyssean?

It will be found again and again that when the usage is really Odyssean it does *not* occur in Iliad xxiii. and xxiv., and when it is Iliadic it *does*. Moreover, when an Odyssean usage does happen to occur in Iliad xxiii. and xxiv. it also occurs in the "Menis" (*e.g.* Final rel. clauses with the subj.). And in more than one case an Odyssean usage is found in the "Menis," and the "Menis" alone (*e.g.* *ἀμφί*, c. dat. = "*concerning*" with verbs of *thinking*). Finally, there are cases where the Original Iliad, including the "Menis" *and* xxiii. and xxiv., agree with the Odyssey as against the rest of the Iliad (*e.g.* in the use of *οὐδείς*).

In drawing up the list I have followed the heading in the Index to Monro's Homeric Grammar (ed. 1891), "Iliad and Odyssey, differences." The strongest instances in favour of the difference come early, viz. the slightly freer use of *ἀμφί* and *περί*. In the "Summary" that follows I have marked as "Iliadic" or "Odyssean" the usages claimed by Monro or Jebb as characteristic of, or peculiar to, the Iliad or the Odyssey. I have added one query where I think the claim doubtful, two where I think it unjustified.

The Summary should be read in three parallel columns. I have marked with a star the instances where Iliad xxiii. or xxiv. (Ψ or Ω) follow the Odyssean and not the Iliadic usage. There are only eight of these in the whole list, and only two that I think can be of any weight at all, viz.

the increase of hiatus after the vowel ε in xxiv., and the use of the phrases ἐπ' αἶαν, ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους.

N.B.—The Odyssey contains c. . . . 12,000 lines.
The Original Iliad contains c. . . 9,000 „
The Additions to the Iliad contain c. . 6,700 „

SUMMARY OF APPENDIX C

	Usage.	*Il. or Od.?*	*Il.* xxiii. Ψ, xxiv. Ω.
§ 1. ἔθεν		"Iliadic." (4 Original, 4 Additions, 1 Odyssey.)	**Not* in Ψ or Ω.
§ 2. ἀμφί	c. dat. = *concerning*, with verbs of *speaking* and *thinking*. (The use with *other* verbs is found in the Original Il.)	"Odyssean." 7 in the Od. 1 in the Il. (the *Menis*).	*Not* „ „
§ 3. περί	c. gen. = *concerning*, with verbs of *speaking*, *hearing*, and *thinking*. (The use with *other* verbs is found in the Original Il.)	"Odyssean." 9 in the Od. 1 in the Il. (the Additions).	*Not* „ „
§ 4. μετά	c. gen. = *among* .	"Odyssean"? 2 instances only in the Od., both designedly colloquial (x. κ 330, xvi. π 140). 2 in the Additions.	*Not* „ „
§ 5. ἐπί	c. acc. = *in quest of* (with *persons*).	"Iliadic"? 5 in Original Il. 3 in Od. *or*, including *animals*, 6 in Original Il. 5 in Od.	**Not* „ „ *or* *In* Ω.
§ 6. ἐπί	c. acc. = to imply *extent*, without a verb of motion.	"Odyssean"? 6 times in Original Il. (including the *Menis*), and in *various* phrases. 15 times in Od., but always, except once, in variants of ἐπὶ γαῖαν or ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους.	**In* Ψ and Ω. (Also in ix. I, and x. K. The *only* possible case of significant agreement between these 4 Books.)

	Usage.	*Il. or Od.?*	*Il.* xxiii. Ψ, xxiv. Ω.
§ 7. ἐπί	with forms in φι(ν).	"Odyssean." (3 cases in Od.)	*Not* in Ψ or Ω.
§ 8. πρός	c. dat. = *besides* .	"Odyssean"? But there is only *one* instance.	*Not* ,, ,,
§ 9. ἀνά	c. gen. . . .	"Odyssean"? But only 3 cases, of which 2 are doubtful.	*Not* ,, ,,
§ 10. ἀνά	c. acc., with collectives (abstract).	"Iliadic." 20 Original Il. 6 Od.	*Twice* in Ψ. *Not* in Ω.
§ 11. κατά	c. acc., with collectives (abstract).	"Iliadic."	*In* Ψ and Ω.
§ 12. κατά	c. acc. = *in quest of.*	"Odyssean"? 1 in Il. (the *Menis*). 3 in the Od. (or 4).	*Not* in Ψ or Ω.
§ 13. διὰ νύκτα . . .		"Odyssean."	*Not* in Ψ. **In* Ω (3 times). But also once in the *Menis*. The phrase is a trick of x. K—9 times.
§ 14. ἐν	with plurs. of *persons* = *among.*	"Odyssean"?? But the full statistics seem quite against this.	*No increase* in Ψ or Ω, as against Books of the *Menis*.
§ 15. ἐν	with abstract words .	"Odyssean"? Il., 18 instances. Od., 14 (*varied*).	*No increase* in Ψ or Ω as against X (the *Menis*).
§ 16. ἐκ	c. gen. = *in consequence of.*	"Odyssean." 1 in the *Menis*. 1 in the Additions. 5 (or 7) in the Od.	*Not* in Ψ or Ω.
§ 17. Inf. after a relative, and ὥστε.		"Odyssean." 1 in the Additions (ix. I.). 5 in the Od. Perhaps due to colloquialism.	*Not* ,, ,,
§ 18. Acc. and Inf. . .		"Odyssean"? Only if we *exclude* the cases introduced by πρίν, πάρος, impersonal verbs, and δός.	*Not* ,, ,,

Usage.	*Il. or Od.?*	*Il.* xxiii. Ψ, xxiv. Ω.
§ 19. Gen. abs. in the Aor. .	"Iliadic"? 7 Original Il. 3 Od.	**Not* „ „ (But the *negative* argument is very weak, when the instances are so few.)
§ 20. *τίς ὅδε*	"Odyssean." Apparently only 2 cases.	*Not* in Ψ or Ω.
§ 21. *ἕο* as a pure Reflexive .	"Iliadic"? 18 Original Il. 18 Od.	*In* Ψ and Ω. (5 cases).
§ 22. Freer use of the Article .	"Odyssean." But very slight.	*No* increase in Ω compared with the *Menis*. *Slight* increase in the *number* of cases—not the *character*—in Ψ. But this accounted for by the enumeration, &c., in the "Games."
(1) Use with *αὐτάρ, δέ*, &c. .	"Iliadic"?	*No lessening* perceptible in Ψ or Ω.
(2) Use with *μέν* . . .	"Iliadic."	*In* Ψ and Ω.
(3) Use with rel. clause following the noun.	"Odyssean."	*Not* in Ψ or Ω.
§ 23. *τό* n. acc. rel. = *wherefore*.	"Iliadic"? 1 in the Od. 3 (?) from the Original Il. (of which 2 are highly doubtful).	*One* instance claimed by Monro for Ψ, but highly doubtful.
§ 24. *ὅς* demonstrative . .	"Iliadic." Only 3 absolutely clear cases in Original Il.	*In* Ψ, *not* in Ω.
§ 25. *οὕνεκα* = *that* . . .	"Odyssean."	*Not* in Ψ or Ω.
§ 26. *ὅτι* = *that* . . .	"Iliadic."	*In* Ψ and Ω.
§ 27. Indirect Discourse. Conversation, &c., reported after verbs of *saying*.	"Odyssean"? But this due to the fact that there is *more conversation* in the Od., not to any change of syntax.	*Not* in Ψ or Ω.

Usage.	*Il. or Od.?*	*Il.* xxiii. Ψ, xxiv. Ω.
§ 28. Attraction of the Rel. .	"Odyssean." 1 in the Il. (in the *Menis*). 5 Od.	*Not* in Ψ or Ω.
§ 29. Final Rel. Clauses with the Subj.	"Odyssean." Increase in Od. (Idiom suited to *speech*.)	**In* Ψ and Ω, but *also* in the *Menis*.
§ 30. κε(ν) in General sentences.	"Odyssean"?? Illusory. See Appendix C.	
§ 31. Opt. with κεν of *unfulfilled condition*.	"Iliadic." 12 Original Il. 3 Od. (2 of which are doubtful).	*In* Ω (*not* Ψ).
§ 32. Opt. of concession. 1*st pers.* with ἄν.	"Odyssean." (Idiom only possible in *speech*.) 20 Original Il. Above 40 Od.	**In* Ω, *not* Ψ (several times in Ω). But *also* in the *Menis*.
§ 33. εἰ and Opt. after a Present (Condtl.).	"Odyssean." 3 Il. (2 from the Additions, 1 *Menis*). 4 Od. (all in *speeches*).	*Not* in Ψ or Ω.
§ 34. εἰ alone with Opt., to express *wish*.	"Iliadic"? Only if limited to cases without any apod. 3 Original Il. 1 Additions.	1 in Ω.
§ 35. εἴθε with Opt., and ὄφελον, to express *wish*.	"Odyssean"?? 9 times Od. but *also* 9 times Original Il. Rare in Additions.	*In* Ψ and Ω, but *also* in the *Menis*.
§ 36. εἰ γάρ with Opt., to express *wish*.	"Odyssean." (without an apod.).	*Not* in Ψ or Ω.
§ 37. Object-Clauses with εἰ and the Opt.	"Odyssean." Of *fully-developed* clauses. 3 Od. 1 Il. (the *Menis*).	*Not* in Ψ or Ω.
§ 38. τύνη	"Iliadic." Only Original Il. 5 cases.	*In* Ω.

Usage.	*Il. or Od.?*	*Il.* xxiii. Ψ, xxiv. Ω.
§ 39 (1). μάν	"Iliadic." 11 Original Il. 2 Od.	*In* Ψ.
(2). μήν	"Iliadic." 4 Original Il. 1 (or 3) Od.	*In* Ψ and Ω.
§ 40. μὲν οὖν	"Odyssean." 1 Il. (Additions). 5 Od.	*Not* in Ψ or Ω.
§ 41. ἦ μή=*num*. . . .	"Odyssean"? Only 2 cases.	*Not* in Ψ or Ω.
§ 42. Neglect of Position . .	"Odyssean."	*No increase* in Ψ or Ω as against the *Menis*.
§ 43 (*a*). Hiatus at the Bucolic Diæresis.	"Odyssean." Increase of c. 1 per cent. due to its appropriateness to *speech*.	*No increase* in Ψ or Ω as against the *Menis*.
(*b*). Hiatus after the vowel ε.	"Odyssean." Increased slightly in Od.	*No increase* in Ψ. *Possible slight increase in Ω.
§ 44. Digamma neglected in ἄρνα and ἔρδω.	"Odyssean"? Doubtful.	*No signs of neglect* in Ψ or Ω.

I would lay stress on the fact that though I differ from Monro's conclusions I do not traverse the actual figures given by him, or by the men on whom he relies. Indeed I should have very little confidence in my own results if they involved this. I only analyse his statistics and compare them with other figures, many of which I have drawn from the "Menis" itself. But the analysis and comparison I have made, if sound, appear to me effectually to dispose of the stock arguments for "lateness" of syntax, diction, and metre in Iliad xxiii. and xxiv. That the Odyssey has special affinities with one part of the traditional Iliad and not another is, I think, certainly suggested by the evidence; but that part appears to be, not Ψ and Ω taken by themselves, but the "Original" taken as a whole.

As to the arguments other than those based on points of language and metre, these are few in number, and could not be claimed as weighty even by those who urge them. The last Book of the Iliad is said to show a tenderness incompatible with the "Wrath"; but this is to beg the whole question of the spirit pervading the original poem, in how unwarrantable a way I have done my best to show. The mythology is said to be different; Hermes, it is said, is the messenger of the gods instead of Iris. But Iris is still the messenger: it is she who takes word to Priam: Hermes goes as a guide and a helper. And, not to press this point, there is something else to be considered. When the mythopœic faculty is active—and active it was, on any theory, from the dawn of the Homeric age down to classical times—new forms are constantly appearing among the deities and new functions developing, and all of these will readily find expression in the poems of the day. There is nothing strange in the supposition that one man and the same used the early figure of Iris, and the newer type of Hermes; nay, he himself may have been the creator who gave that newer vision its exquisite outline and charm.

Again, the scenery of xxiv. Ω is supposed by some critics to suggest peaceful surroundings, and not the life of a camp. But if this is really so, how did a warlike audience come to tolerate the absurdity? And is it really so? It is said by Dr. Leaf ("Iliad," vol. ii., *note* on xxiv., 448 ff.) that the hut of Achilles is described as though it were a palace, because it is called a "house," and has a forecourt (*αὐλή*), porch (*πρόδομος*), and open corridor (*αἴθουσα*): the poet is supposed not to have "taken the trouble to consider how little his spacious dwelling agrees with . . . the first conditions of a naval camp." But is there really any palatial conception at all? On the contrary, the poet says expressly that the building was of wood—(stone was always used for any "great house")—and the roof thatched with reeds from the meadows

(450–453). It need have been no grander than the hut Eumæus made for himself (Od. xiv. init.). The swineherd, like Achilles, had a forecourt to his house and a porch (*αὐλή* and *πρόδομος*), with ornamental epithets to boot:—*ὑψηλή, καλή τε μεγάλη τε*—and his living-room is called a *μέγαρον* (Od. xvi. 165). The Myrmidons could surely have made as comfortable quarters for their chief: they had nine years for the work. Probably the idea that there is something impossibly magnificent about the place is due to the use of epic formulas such as: "the maids went out of the hall with torches in their hands," formulas used when the scene of action really is a palace. But the repetition of epic formulas "without close regard to the circumstances which distinguish one occasion from another"[1] ought to be common enough to put us on our guard against such a misunderstanding.

It is hard to resist the suspicion that such arguments as these would never have been thought of at all if it had not been taken for granted that the diction and metre of Il. xxiv. proved it to be "late."

[1] Jebb, "Homer," p. 156.

CHAPTER X

THE ILIAD AND THE ODYSSEY

For some time past it has also been taken for granted that the Odyssey and the Original Iliad are by different authors. But it must be remembered that this is certainly not proved; to my mind it is not even probable.

The question has been practically decided (and decided, as I think, both rashly and wrongly) by considerations of language. But an examination such as that outlined in the preceding chapter raises the question whether the small differences of language that undoubtedly exist are such as to indicate diversity of authorship. On the contrary, from certain points of view they actually suggest identity. For the new usages, as a careful reading of Appendix C. will show, grow naturally and easily out of the old. They do not even always show an approximation to the type of later Greek.[1] They suggest, it is true, a development of style, but a development by one and the same individual along his individual lines. In such a development there would be nothing surprising. For we ought to remember that the style of every vital artist is constantly growing while he works. This is often forgotten in Homeric controversy, but it has been proved a hundred times over in other literatures and other branches of Art. The change in metre, it will be seen, is almost the minimum we could expect from any poet, amounting tc a barely perceptible increase in lightness and variety.

The same considerations hold when we come to consider the actual change in vocabulary. This change

[1] Note *e.g.* the use of the Subjunctive after Final Relative Clauses.

is certainly considerable, much the greatest indeed of all that are evident, but is it any greater than we might expect from one man? Taking Ebeling's lexicon as a basis, I find 400 words which, occurring more than once in the Odyssey, do not occur at all in the Iliad. To these we must, for our special purpose, add 119 more, which do occur in the Iliad, but only in the Additions. I have not counted words that only occur once in the Odyssey, because many of these are "nonce-words," and in any case their inclusion seems most unsafe in view of the numerous small changes and losses that the text of both Iliad and Odyssey must have undergone. But I have tried not to omit any words, important or unimportant, that the Odyssey uses more than once and that do not occur in the Original Iliad. I have not counted the Iliadic words that are dropped in the Odyssey. This did not seem to be necessary. But I may remark in passing that if such a list were to be made with any security the discarded words should only be drawn from what, on other grounds, is taken to be the Original Iliad. For instance, something has been made of the fact that a certain compound verb meaning "to break through," ἀναῤῥήγνυμι, only occurs in the Iliad. But it should be added that it only occurs *once* in the Original (xviii. 582), for the other passages are from portions universally rejected as late (xx. 63; vii. 461).

In judging the change as a whole I must first say I agree with those who hold that it is of a character that cannot be explained merely by the difference of subject-matter; though that, no doubt, goes for a great deal. But we cannot jump from this to diversity of authorship. To estimate its real significance we must seek the help of analogy from the custom of other poets. We can, unfortunately, find no exact analogy, for we know of no other style in literature at once so artificial and so free as the epic dialect. It will not do to press the instances

of modern poets with their deliberate choice among the methods of many periods, although I think them worth recalling, the better to realise how strong is the natural impulse in an artist to seek for varied forms of expression. But it has been suggested to me by Professor A. C. Bradley that a fairly close parallel might be found in the difference of vocabulary manifest between Milton's early period and the time of "Paradise Lost." Now Bradshaw's lexicon gives something over 1200 words (1228 according to my enumeration), which, not occurring before that period, occur more than once in "Paradise Lost" and subsequently. I have not, of course, included proper names, or geographical epithets of any kind. The mass of Milton's earlier poems is about 3500 lines (round numbers); the mass of "Paradise Lost" 10,550: that is to say, about three times as much. Now the Odyssey is about one-third as long again as the Original Iliad: therefore we should expect the Miltonic increase to be between two and three times as much as the Odyssean. And this is just what it is: 1228 words against 519.

Both in the Miltonic vocabulary and the Homeric the increase is not, as a rule, in exceptional, out-of-the-way words. If the student will consult Ebeling's lexicon for Homer he will see how many of the fresh words in the Odyssey are formed on the basis of words previously existing, such as compound verbs on the basis of simple verbs, or simple verbs where there was only a noun or an adjective before. Jebb[1] calls attention to the fact that there are some new words "expressing moral and religious feelings." Of these, three certainly may be admitted as of some importance: the words meaning "holy," "piety," and "God-fearing" (*ἁγνή, ὁσίη, θεουδής*). The appearance of these in the Odyssey has been thought remarkable. But Professor Bradley has given me a curiously close parallel from the changes in Shakespeare's vocabulary: "In the

[1] "Homer," p. 55, n. 1.

plays written during the first half of his literary career the word 'pious' never occurs, while it occurs eleven times in the plays from 'Hamlet' onwards."

It does not seem paradoxical, in view of these considerations, to say that if we assume unity of authorship and at the same time a lapse of some years between the writing of the poems, then, far from being surprised at the greatness of the metrical and linguistic changes between the Iliad and the Odyssey, we might well wonder at their smallness. It is very difficult of course to speculate with any degree of confidence on the details of the process by which the epic dialect was developed. No doubt there are many signs—*e.g.* the customs of repetition and borrowing, the affection for stock phrases and epithets—that point to a strong reverence for tradition, and this reverence, it may be admitted, would work against the tendency to novelty. But there are other factors apparent: there is a wonderful facility for coining words, especially compounds; there seems great richness in "nonce-words"; above all, the mere feat of producing the hexameter diction itself argues a buoyant interest in language, a mastery of resource, and an exuberance of invention that can hardly be exaggerated. It is only a dying poetry that can do nothing but repeat itself. Whoever wrote the Odyssey was alive, and he must have had abundant resources to draw on: first, his own inventive genius; next, the work of the other poets whom we may safely assume as contemporaries and predecessors; and lastly, a fresh store in the language of common life. This last, we may perhaps venture to think, would have had an especial charm at the end of his life for one so human and urbane. Drawing upon all three, with that union of delight in creation, and respect for tradition always supremely characteristic of Greek art, he so welded new to old that the Greeks could hardly imagine him to be a different man and our critics can hardly believe him to be the same.

But, it is said, independently of grammar, diction, and metre, the spirit and atmosphere of the two poems are essentially different. The argument that the Odyssey in general shows an increase in humane and tender feeling is, I think, only held, and could only be held, by those who question whether Book xxiv. can belong to the Original Iliad. This argument, therefore, we have already dealt with in substance, and we may pass on to the next.

The contention that the Odyssey shows a higher level of religious feeling has far more to be said for it. To a certain extent I agree that a change has taken place, but here again our final attitude depends on whether we include or exclude Il. xxiv. Nothing in all the Odyssey is on a higher level of religious emotion than the visit of Iris to Priam, than the call of Zeus to Thetis. Nothing, it would be truer to say, is on a level anything like so high. But the whole question is very complex, because the Homeric conception of the gods is a complex of conflicting elements. There is the religious spirit proper, the desire to represent an ideal of goodness and power which man can trust and adore; there is the quasi-metaphysical impulse to symbolise the forces of Nature, the play of accident, the desires and passions of men, good or bad; there is the pure fairy-tale pleasure of creating individuals no better and no worse than ourselves, in no more profound relation to the universe, but with far greater power over it. The elements that went to create the goblins, the fairies, the devils, the religious creeds, the philosophical systems of later times, all had their part in the making of the Homeric Pantheon. In the Original Iliad these elements play in and out of each other, with apparently no sense of contradiction troubling to the poet, and at times in a manner to us most baffling. But in the Odyssey, though the elements are still there, and none of them, I think, increased in intensity, yet a perceptible sundering has taken place and a consequent great gain in clearness. In particular the

evil side of the gods sinks into the background. It is still present, as the story of Aphrodite and Hephæstus shows,[1] but it is much less prominent. Athena in particular plays a far nobler part. The offices of the Tempter and the Enemy are taken over, as it were, by the intermediate creatures of the poet's inexhaustible fancy, by Circe, the Sirens, the Lotus-eaters—by the Cyclops, Scylla, and Charybdis. But the change seems to me just the kind of development we might expect from a man of thoughtful mind, and that man a poet and a creator.[2]

There are those who hold that a somewhat different society is suggested in the Odyssey, but, so far as I am aware, it is not claimed that the suggestions are strong enough to bear the weight of a theory. True, that in the Odyssey the public meeting is more often referred to, and the right of hereditary kingship is questioned. "But the evidence on these points is very slender; and allowance must be made for the special conditions presupposed by the subject of the Odyssey" (Jebb, *op. cit.*, p. 50). The main features of the civilisation, it is clear, are identical. Some have thought that the poet of the Odyssey is more familiar with iron, because twice a reference to iron slips out in a way which shows it is known to be the regular metal for weapons, although the heroes themselves carry the traditional bronze. "Steel of itself attracts a man," says Odysseus, evidently quoting a proverb, when he bids his son put the weapons away (Od. xvi. 294, repeated xix. 13). But it is most interesting to note that in the Original Iliad there are also two references to iron, which betray the same knowledge in the same sort of way. One of these is from a part that it is hard to think did not belong to the "Menis" itself. It is where Antilochus holds Achilles' hands during the first agony of his grief, "fearing

[1] I consider this original, though I admit it may be doubted. See below, p. 112.

[2] For the poet's attitude to death and the life after death, see c. xiii.

he would cut his throat with the steel" (Il. xviii. 34). Again, when Pandarus makes his treacherous shot, we read, "he drew the string to his breast and the steel" (*i.e.* the arrow-head) "to the bow" (Il. iv. 123). There is a third reference in the Original which is very similar. It is where the oxen slain for Patroclus are said to lie dying, "with the steel in their throats" (Il. xxiii. 30). Now there is only *one* case in the Additions where iron is mentioned in connection with a weapon of slaughter, and there the weapon is not a cutting weapon at all, but the iron mace of a giant (Il. vii. 141). It seems quite possible therefore that a special interest in iron weapons is characteristic at once of the Original Iliad and of the Odyssey. Metaphors from the hardness of iron (the "iron heart," &c.) are also common in both poems, and perceptibly rarer in the Additions.

e.g. *Original Iliad*—

xxiv. 205, 521	*cp.*	Odyssey iv.	293
xxii. ("Menis") 357	„	„ xxiii.	172
xvii. 424	„	„ xv.	329
xxiii. 177	„	„ xii.	280
iv. 510	„	„ xix.	494

Additions—

Il. xx. 372,
apparently the only instance.

The arguments remaining are chiefly connected with the actual mythology of the poems. Mythological ground is notoriously unsafe, and never more so than here. The Iliad makes Charis ("Grace"), the Odyssey makes Aphrodite ("Beauty"), the wife of Hephæstus the artist-smith. It is thought impossible for a poet to vary his mythology to this extent. Granted that it is (which may well be doubted), the entire force of the objection depends on the false assumption that the Odyssey conceives Aphrodite to remain the wife of Hephæstus for ever. The exact contrary is the case. The whole point of the lay

of Demodocus (where the one Odyssean reference to Aphrodite and Hephæstus occurs) is to show that Hephæstus is compelled to *divorce* Aphrodite because of her faithlessness. That indeed is the one justification for his open exposure of her and her paramour. "Come and behold them," he cries to the assembled gods, "until her father give me back the bride-gifts that I gave him for his daughter; seeing she is fair, but faithless" (Od. viii. 306–320). The return of the bride-price involves the return of the bride, and Hephæstus is free to marry again.[1]

Again, it is said that in the Iliad the gods live on an earthly mountain, and that in the Odyssey they dwell in a wonderful region where no rain nor snow can come. But in both poems they dwell "on Olympus," and in both, we may add, they dwell in fairyland. The starlike homes that Hephæstus built (Il. i. fin.), where living maidens of gold waited in the halls (Il. xviii.), are surely never conceived as discoverable by an earthly climber. The only parallel to them is the palace of the Odyssean Alcinous in that enchanted island to which no ship can ever come again. Dante placed the Earthly Paradise upon a mountain in the southern seas, and he is very careful to give us its exact geography, but he would have smiled at an actual expedition to find it. Here, as so often, criticism of the letter may stifle the spirit.

"Iris is the messenger in the Iliad, Hermes in the Odyssey." But the pun on the name of Irus the beggar —"the young men called him Irus because he carried messages" (Od. xviii. 6)—shows that Iris has not lost her place.

"The Dioscuri are mortals in the Iliad; in the Odyssey

[1] It should perhaps also be said that after all the Aphrodite-Hephæstus passage may be an interpolation. The song of Demodocus has often been suspected, and it certainly breaks the sequence of the narrative in rather a curious way.

they are deified" (Merry, "Odyssey," Introduction). There is only one reference to the Dioscuri in the Odyssey (Od. xi. 300–304). How is it incompatible with the Iliadic conception? (Il. iii. 237, 243, 244). In many ways it is even reminiscent of it. In the Iliad Helen speaks of her brothers, "Castor the horseman and the boxer Polydeukes, my own two brothers, whom my mother bore." And the poet says, "But they lay already in the lap of the life-giving earth." The actual words are echoed in the Odyssey, and stress is laid on the fact that the heroes are the sons of Leda and the *mortal* Tyndareus. Elaboration follows, but no inconsistency. "And I saw Leda, the wife of Tyndareus, who bore him two mighty sons, Castor the horseman and the boxer Polydeukes, who lie in the lap of the life-giving earth, yet still live on. They have gone below the sod, yet still they are honoured by Zeus. One day they live and another day they die, turn in turn, and they are honoured like the gods" (Od. xi. 298–304). It does seem perverse to suppose that this mysterious changing immortality "beneath the earth" is inconsistent with bodily death at the end of their human life: why, it actually implies it.

"Neoptolemus is but a child in the Iliad, a young warrior in the Odyssey" (Merry, "Odyssey," Introduction). But the one passage referring to Neoptolemus in the Iliad (xix. 326–333) breaks the sequence of the verses in which it is embedded, and is held by the most conservative of scholars to be a late interpolation. And even there nothing decisive is said about his age. And even if it was, nothing is, or ought to be, matter of more familiar knowledge than the liberty a poet allows himself with the ages of his characters. They may grow up in a single night, or, like Helen, never grow old at all.

"Neleus in the Odyssey has three, in the Iliad twelve sons" (Merry, *loc. cit.*). But what are we to think of this argument when we find (Od. xi. 281 ff.) that the "three

sons" in the Odyssey are simply the sons borne him by one woman alone, Chloris, the Heroine of the passage, his queen and wife, and that there is nothing whatever to suggest that there were not other sons by other women, the others that Homeric custom would actually lead us to expect? Why do eminent scholars offer points like this in evidence?

It must be that the difference in language has been held conclusive, and that any other difference has therefore been too readily accepted as illustrating "the workings of a different mind" (Jebb, *op. cit.*, p. 172). But if I have shown reason, as I hope I have, for drawing different conclusions from the linguistic facts, I may win a hearing for what I believe to indicate the workings of one mind and the same. The subject, of course, is not susceptible of proof, but, independently of the conclusion, the statement of such affinities may be of interest. Underneath the superficial differences of theme there appear to me remarkable likenesses of sentiment and treatment.[1]

The Iliad is tragedy, no doubt, and the Odyssey, on the whole, is comedy, but it was a Greek who taught us that it belongs to the same man to write tragedy and comedy. And our own supreme dramatist might teach it to those who do not read Plato. Moreover, it is not right to overemphasise the tragic aspect of the Iliad and the joyous side of the Odyssey. The poet who drew the scenes on the great Shield of Achilles, the poet of the lusty games in xxiii., the poet of Helen and Andromache and Andromache's baby, that poet did not lack a sense for the joy of life. And the Odyssey, for all its surpassing freshness, shows a stern conception of what life and death can mean. A deep sadness is felt beneath the brilliance and delight, a sense of the awful things that happen in life and the

[1] I take my illustrations of course only from what I hold to be the Original Iliad. I assume, provisionally, that the Odyssey is a unity: my reasons are given in the subsequent chapters.

blank of the dead world that follows.[1] Human affection is set for us against this dark background with a peculiar and most touching power: the scene between Odysseus and his mother's ghost (Od. xi.), the dream of Achilles in which his dead friend comes to him for a last and vain farewell (Il. xxiii.), stand together, and alone in literature. The pathos of old-age, in particular, is felt in both poems with unsurpassed intensity and presented with unsurpassed delicacy. Laertes and Anticleia can stand side by side with Priam.

The sacredness of home and wife and child that so dignifies the Odyssey is the very nerve of the idyllic scene between Hector and Andromache (Il. vi.). Odysseus himself in the Iliad takes for his title "the father of Telemachus" (Il. iv. 354), and the nostalgia of the "Return" vibrates through all the years at Troy (*e.g.* Il. xviii. 89, 90; xix. 324). Over against this we have the miracle of character-drawing that can give us the magic of Helen, the half-unconscious siren who can shatter the home with one lift of her eyelids. Most difficult is this magic to express in words, and most unmistakable. It is not the mere spell of beauty, it is not the vulgar power of an ordinary mistress; in some mysterious way it is bound up with intellectual and even moral charm. Grace, and refinement, and dignity, and quickness of wit, and kindness, and sympathy, and keenest sensibility, Helen has all these, and yet with them all a fatal weakness that makes her yield to Paris at the moment when she most despises him (Il. iii. fin.), that makes her capable of luring the Greeks to their doom at the will of Deïphobus (Od. iv. 274). The desire to give pleasure, at once a woman's greatest charm and greatest temptation, it is this that is Helen's snare. And such a desire in her, though bound up with the mystery of sex, is not merely a matter of sex:

[1] The likeness in the conception of the after-world is most remarkable. But this subject is complex, and the discussion must be reserved for c. xiii., *q.v.*

it is also a lovable quality of heart. We can see this best when the fine part of her nature makes her wish, as she often wishes, to please most those whom she most respects. We can see how her grateful reverence for Priam, her tender gratitude to Hector, long to find expression. It goes to our hearts when she looks sadly for her brothers among the Grecian host, and thinks that they are not on the field because they are ashamed of her (Il. iii. 241). Her conscience justifies the Trojan women for their blame (Il. iii. 410), just as it justifies Odysseus and Menelaus for their pursuit (Od. iv. 240 ff.), and I believe it is a real pain to her to outrage them by going to Paris under their eyes. Cleopatra, I think, would have enjoyed the flout. Years after she will weep pensive tears with Menelaus over the sorrows of old days and rejoice to soothe away the pain of memory by the opiate she brings (Od. iv. 220 ff.), and act the motherly hostess for the son of the man who had spent himself in the fight for her.

But, as a modern poet would teach us, if a woman's soul is to live she must be strong enough on occasion to drown her heart, and this is just what Helen can never do. She must needs make herself appear to every man the very wife of his bosom, even at the risk of his life (Od. iv. 274 ff.); her reverence for Priam, her gratitude to Hector, can never give her strength to save them by tearing asunder the bonds that link her with Troy. She has not the courage for great deeds, but in speech and daily life she has the courage of an exquisite tact. Just as, when she comes suddenly face to face with Priam before the outspread army of the Greeks (Il. iii. 145), she saves the situation by accepting it with perfect frankness, so she makes the after-life with Menelaus serene and unruffled by an entire admission of the past and an entire acceptance of blame (Od. iv. 260 ff.). And yet the very ease and sweetness with which she does this warns us that hers is not one of the great natures who may sin, but who buy their salvation through their loyalty to truth: a truth

so easily bought as hers does not and cannot save. We know that the iron, after all, has not entered, and will never enter, into her soul; and we even smile a little when she says she is worn with weeping, while the poet tells us that her face was like the face of a goddess, knowing no touch of age or death (Il. iii. 176, 158). So, after all her adventures and all her lovers, she comes into her husband's hall looking like the virgin Artemis, immortal and unstained (Od. iv. 122).

Many writers since Homer's day have tried to give the siren charm, and some have done so, but this peculiar type, this blending of tenderness, modesty, and deadliness, has only been given twice, with this supreme success, once in the Iliad and once in the Odyssey.

Equally subtle is the Homeric humour: almost always quiet and unobtrusive, once discovered it is an unfailing spring of delight. For it is the humour that rises out of a keen insight into character. We have only to think of Penelope exasperating her son by her attempt to combine the sorrows of a lonely wife (perfectly genuine as they are) with the excitements of a much-wooed widow; of Agamemnon fussing over his chieftains, scolding the submissive and eating his words at the bidding of the fierce (Il. iv.); of Hector, in the flush of victory, trying, quite vainly, to assume the judicial tone against the cautious Polydamas (Il. xviii.).

Another point should not be overlooked: the love for animals and the understanding of them shown in both the poems. The qualities of the famous passage about the dog Argus in the Odyssey are well known, its simplicity, its dignity, its insight into the character of an animal, its sureness of touch on the pathos of the link between animals and men, the link of sympathy that makes the animal suffer when it seems only born for enjoyment. And all this, so rare in great literature that it can hardly be paralleled, finds its exact parallel in the Iliad. We turn to the fight over the body of Patroclus and we read (Il. xvii. 426 ff.):—

"But the horses of Achilles stood apart from the fight and wept. They had seen their charioteer fall by Hector's hand, and they would not move away. Again and again Automedon struck them with the lash, and he coaxed them, and he chided them, but they would not stir. They would neither go to the ships nor enter the fight once more.

"There they stood, as though they had been sculptured above a hero's tomb, with the splendid car behind them and their heads bent to the earth, while the long manes slipped out from the yoke and hung trailing in the dust. They knew they had lost their master, and the hot tears rolled down in their grief. And the son of Cronus looked from heaven and saw their sorrow and said in his heart:

"'Ah, unhappy creatures, why did we give you to Peleus the king? You are deathless and he must die. Why should you sorrow with men who sorrow?'"

Surely there is no need to quote more, or to bring forward the other scene where the horses are reproached by Achilles for deserting Patroclus, and Hera gives one of them a voice to defend himself. If it is not the same man, it is at least the same spirit that created these lines and that told us how, when Odysseus came home at last, old, worn, and miraculously disguised, "a dog who was lying at the gates lifted his head and pricked his ears. It was the hound Argus whom Odysseus had reared himself long ago before the war. Once he used to follow the hunters to the chase, but no one cared for him now when his master was away, and he lay there covered with vermin on a dung-heap in front of the gate. Yet even so when he felt that Odysseus was near him, he wagged his tail and dropped his ears, but he had not strength enough to drag himself up to his master" (Od. xvii. 291 ff.).

I have dwelt at some length on this because it seems to me that recognition of the real affinity has been impeded, here as elsewhere, by the over-acute perception of superficial differences. It has been urged with much skill and at first

sight with some force, that the Iliadic poet shows a horror of dogs. They are dreaded in the Iliad as the devourers of dead men. Now an observer of dogs would certainly know that this was possible in war, but how does the statement of it imply a horror of the animal? It is the horror of war it implies, war that destroys all natural and kindly relations. This seems clear from the very passage that speaks most plainly of the horrible thing (Il. xxii. 66–71). The peculiar pain of it is that the dogs who will lick his blood are the dogs Priam "had reared himself," who had fed at his table and kept watch at his gate. Once more, we may recall how over Patroclus' pyre in the bitterness of his heart Achilles slays two of his comrade's favourite dogs, and the slaying is put side by side with the murder of twelve Trojan youths among "the black deeds that were in his mind" (Il. xxiii. 173–176).

Again, the treatment of myth and fairy-tale that makes the special delight of the Odyssey has genuine analogies in the Iliad. The poet turns to the legends for rest and refreshment in the midst of his own sorrows, and so gives us the story of Bellerophon in Book vi., of Hephæstus in Book xviii., of Niobe in Book xxiv. He turns to them for rest, but he does not turn away from life: they too are charged with the sense of mystery and tears. In the Odyssey the tales are only elaborated: it is the same spirit at work: indeed their deathless charm for young and old springs just from this, that they combine the freshness of a fairy-tale with the great significances of life.

Finally, the structure of each poem displays the same great qualities. In each the plot is at once compact and mighty—the plan of a majestic building framed to endure. There is the same breadth of handling in both, the same delicate interweaving of part with part and all parts with the whole. It does injustice to their living unity to speak of either as closely-knit, but closely-knit they both are, from first to last. Down to the details there are significant

likenesses. In each there is one climax near the centre, another and a greater near the end, and both of them end in calm, and a kind of reconciliation. In each the hero is brought vividly before our minds at the outset, and then withdrawn, so that we may long for him the more. In each the opening begins with an outburst of anger and a threat of vengeance: and in each the opening is followed by a steady movement onwards, at first comparatively quiet, but gathering force and passion on its way.

It would be fascinating to pursue this subject further, but it has already gone far enough for this chapter. Further points will appear in the detailed discussion on the Odyssey that follows.

Enough perhaps has been said here to show cause for reconsidering in this age the question of the "Chorizontes" once more, with, I hope, a little more respect for the verdict of antiquity. We might indeed have passed over "the dogmatic slumber" of ancient readers without scruple, but the question was definitely raised as early as the third century B.C., and raised, as Jebb points out (*op. cit.*, c. iv. init.), only to be as definitely rejected. This in itself is a strong presumption on our side. And if it should turn out after all that the instinct of the Greeks themselves was right in this matter, the progress of the poet from Iliad to Odyssey would find parallels of the highest interest elsewhere in literature and art. Goethe and Shakespeare in poetry, Giovanni Bellini in painting, Beethoven to some extent in music, show this change from acute tragedy to something that is neither tragedy nor comedy, something delightful, genial, even gay, but something that has in its heart the pain of many years.

Every alert reader, I think, would say instinctively that the Odyssey is the work of a man far on in life. This man, he might well go on to say, must surely have written a poem before, at least in his head. What if, after all, that poem was the Iliad?

CHAPTER XI

THE ODYSSEY

THROUGHOUT the preceding chapters I have assumed that the bulk of the Odyssey should be considered as the work of one poet, and one alone. This view is held by many scholars, even by some whose criticisms would go far to disintegrate the Iliad: Dr. Leaf, for instance, has written in support of it. But there is an important body of opinion on the other side, following the lead of Kirchhoff and Wilamowitz in Germany. It is necessary, therefore, to state the reasons which I consider justify my assumption of its unity. Here, as in the Iliad, the argument turns in the main on a detailed inquiry into the imaginative content of the poem. But something may be said at the outset about the nature of the objections in general.

Even on a cursory view of the Odyssey it is plain that except for a few short passages, such as the tale of Eumæus in xv. (380–492) and the extension of the Nekuia in xi. (565 ff.), destructive criticism can find none of the patent inconsistencies that were so marked in the Iliad. It has to base itself upon minute discrepancies, many of which it is hard to believe are discrepancies at all.

For instance (1) Telemachus stays far longer at the palace of Menelaus than he had intended: but is it the least surprising that the young man should linger on in the splendid home where Helen was the hostess instead of hurrying back to the hateful scenes in Ithaca? That a visitor should talk of going and still stay on is no unusual phenomenon.

(2) Odysseus, when he removes the weapons from the

hall on the eve of the great fight, gives up his first idea of leaving two swords and two spears and two shields to serve for his son and himself. And he says nothing about this change of plan. But when he made his first proposal he had not yet seen the suitors nor taken stock for himself of their quickness and audacity. Now that he has, he realises that it would not do to leave such weapons within their reach. He does not waste words in explaining this to Telemachus, who indeed will do his bidding without any words at all: they have no time to spare: the women, and even Eurycleia, must not see them at their work, for this action of "the beggar," if observed, might go far to rouse a suspicion that would wreck the plot.

(3) Again, the fact that Odysseus is known through his disguise by the old nurse and the old dog, is supposed to show that there were once two distinct forms of the poem: one with the magical transformation wrought by Athena's wand, the other with only the natural change that his travel and the years had brought about in the hero's looks. As though it were not the very sign and seal of the true poetic use of miracle that we should find it impossible to say where magic begins and nature ends! There is no finer touch in the Volsung saga than where Brynhilde, speaking to Siegfried of the dreadful Tarnhelm that hid him from her under the guise of a stranger, tells him none the less, "And yet all the while I knew your eyes." The art, of course, lies in using the supernatural to heighten the sense of wonder and mystery, and at the same time keeping the natural forces of insight and perception in their accustomed play. We should lose an infinite amount from the scenes with Argus and with Eurycleia if Odysseus were not miraculously disguised; for what we exult in is just that the old nurse can penetrate the disguise, however miraculous, by the help of her touch, and the old dog without the need of touch at all.

Few readers, it may be hoped, would be impressed by any one of such objections as these, taken alone, but the mere fact that many are made, and made by able scholars, does its work. Moreover, it is no doubt perfectly possible to find long sections of the Odyssey which are intelligible enough without constant reference to the rest, especially if we do not scruple to cut out inconvenient allusions. The Odyssey is a lengthy work designed for recitation, and it would mean very faulty construction on the poet's part if the listener could not understand as he listened without the need of "turning back." But it gives a handle to the separatists. They fix on such portions as the journey of Telemachus and the wanderings of Odysseus, and ask why these could not stand alone. The answer in brief is that possibly they could, but the whole poem is not nearly so fine if they do. To develop that answer is the purpose of these chapters.

To bring out its significance we must go a little way back. What is it that chiefly distinguishes Epic from Romance? This question has been well put and well answered by Professor Ker,[1] and the gist of his answer is that Epic has far more of the fulness and solidity of real life. This is a fruitful idea and may lead to interesting conclusions. One might even say that the seminal impulse of Epic is the desire to give, in art, the impression of the whole life of man by a tale of heroic deeds—not, as in mere Romance, to escape from actual life into some land of faery, or to confine oneself, as in most modern novels, to a single sphere of emotions, or to select, as in the Drama, one special type of crisis and set out its immediate Before and After—but to take the whole wide sweep of men's chief interests and fears and joys, and illuminate that mighty circle by the light of their own characteristic deeds. This is why most epics tend to take a wide sweep in time as well as in content, basing themselves on some story

[1] "Epic and Romance."

which involves in its catastrophe the fate of many men, even of whole nations, and maybe of the whole world. Because the long drift of events through time is a part, and a great part, of man's interest, and a part too which it is singularly difficult to represent in the symbolic procedure of Art. All Art must necessarily use a kind of symbolic shorthand: it behoves that the shorthand should be as easy to read as possible. To compress something of "the amplitude of time" into one brief narrative, to make us feel in one short compass how the individual affects and is affected by others whom he may never have seen and never will see, this is not an easy matter.

The theme of a *Welt-Begebenheit*, of a definite special event that shakes the whole world, is welcome to the epic artist, for by its mere outline it brings before the mind that widening circle of influences that helps to build up the universe.

But there are other ways of producing this result: there are other tales than those of, say, a great city's fall, which, when handled by a master, might produce this broad effect, this effect of having, somehow, seen the whole of man's life moving on before us. Take the bare outline of our Odyssey as it might be stated by Aristotle: a hero after long wanderings and perils wins his way home to his faithful and hardly-bested wife, and triumphs over the troubles that beset both him and her. The mere framework of this story could bring in at one sweep a whole range of interests too often divided, the interest of adventure and strange lands, and the interest of home and country. From the beginning to the end of time a tale that can unite these two fascinates and will fascinate the heart of man. If the Greeks invented the union, that alone would be a worthy contribution to the Epic. There is a certain amount of evidence, however, to suggest that the tale with this peculiar combination of Wandering and Return had been, in some form or other, a *Welt-Märchen* when Homer took it up.

The evidence here is slight, but of an interesting character. The situation of the Returned Husband, at least, is known all over the world (see Andrew Lang, "Homer and the Epic"), and Dr. Jane Harrison has found a most curious parallel to the actual structure of the Odyssey at the close of the North American tale of the Red Swan.[1] The likenesses here go down to small details. I give almost in full the part that concerns us, italicising the marked resemblances.

After the hero, Odjibwa, has won his beautiful wife, the Red Swan, his brothers reproach him for having taken and lost *the magic arrows* of their dead father. They entreat him to go and find others for them, and he consents. He sets off on *his travels*, and comes *to the under-world*. There, to his astonishment, he meets skeleton *animals who have the voices of men*. They ask him, "*Why he was so bold as to visit the abode of the dead?*" And the spirit of a buffalo tells him that he can go no farther in these regions, and bids him *return at once* to his tribe, *for his brothers are trying to get possession of his wife*. The spirit tells him also that he *will live to a very old age, and live and die happily*. Odjibwa looks to the West, and sees a bright light but no sun, and asks what it means. "*It is the place where those who were good dwell.*" "And that dark cloud?" "*Wickedness*," replies the spirit. And then Odjibwa returns to the earth, "and saw the sun giving light as usual and breathed the pure air." And the story goes on, "*all the rest that he saw* in the homes of the dead and his *travels* and *actions* are unknown, but he *wandered a long time in quest of information to make his people happy*." *He comes home unexpectedly* and *overhears* his brothers quarrelling about *the possession of his wife*, who is *faithful to him*. Odjibwa enters the house "*with the stern air and the conscious dignity of a brave and honest man*," *lays the magic arrows on the bow*, and *shoots them dead*.

[1] "Algic Researches," vol. ii., by Schoolcraft. New York, 1839. Alluded to in "Myths of the Odyssey," J. E. Harrison.

Here are certainly surprising likenesses, in plan, in sequence of detail, almost in phrase.

Further, there are one or two little touches in the Odyssey itself which suggest that the poet is handling a theme already familiar in its broad outlines to his hearers :—

(1) The wooers are referred to in the first Book without a touch of previous explanation simply as *the wooers* (i. 91) : the listener has to understand "the wooers of *the absent hero's wife*."

(2) The journey to the under-world in xi. is introduced with no elaborate preparation, much as though the poet felt that he could count on an expectation for it already in the minds of his audience.

(3) There is an odd little point in Book i. (262 ff.) about the successful search of Odysseus for poison to put on his arrows. Now the practice of using poisoned arrows is clearly felt by the poet to be wrong ;[1] it is also out of keeping with his hero's upright and humane character, and it is never mentioned again. Why then does the poet put it in at all? This could be explained if we suppose that he could not entirely shake off the influence of an old tradition, a tradition in which the use of essentially deadly arrows was a cardinal point of the tale.

But in whatever way these curious points and strange affinities are to be explained, it is obvious that the mere presence of this form of the story among the Red Indians shows how naturally it could take root among a primitive people. The theories in particular that see in the Nekuia (Book xi.) a later and sophisticated addition, have much to

[1] See Professor Murray, "The Rise of the Greek Epic," p. 121 (a passage which suggested this point to me) :—

"In α 261 we are told how Odysseus once went to Ephyra, to Ilos, son of Mermeros—an ominous name—to seek a man-slaying drug to anoint his arrows withal. But Ilos would not give it him. He feared the *nemesis* of the eternal gods. 'But my father,' the speaker continues, 'gave him some. For he loved him terribly.'"

"The Odysseus of the earliest legends," Professor Murray continues, "must of course have used poison."

reckon with here. On the slight evidence before us, it is true, we cannot decide whether the poet, as poets so often do, found a good story and made it better, or whether he invented it from the first; but the story itself is of such a character that we can, I think, safely say so much as this: If the poet did start with the framework of the Odyssey as we have it now, he started with a splendid scheme, a scheme in its germ epic, and one that could appeal to unsophisticated and cultured alike.

But the start, though a great deal, is not all. A poet's scheme, if it is to become alive, has to grow in his brain and heart till he sees and feels how the situation involves the characters and the characters explain the situation. And if the seed is to grow into an epic, it must feed on a rich soil. It will now be my endeavour to show how both these things happen in our Odyssey. The situation grows clear and it grows broad. The characters themselves, by their actions and their words, make us understand to the full how they have reached the position in which we find them; and at the same time, from first to last, the poem is so built as to give a wide horizon to our thoughts. Take the characters first.

Penelope is exactly the woman who would drift into the hopeless position from which it needs the hero to rescue her. Essentially a passive nature, she cannot realise for herself what action means, its necessities and its dangers. Thus she is formed to slip into the hands of the strong in the end. At the same time, as with so many natures of this type, strength and force have a peculiar attraction for her, and this attraction indeed plays a great part in the genuine love she feels for her real strong hero, Odysseus. But if she cannot have her true hero, she is not averse to the stir of vigorous young life about her which appears, at least on the surface, to defer to her and to woo her: not averse, that is, so long as it does not call on her for immediate and irretrievable action.

It is quite plain, for instance, that though she may "hate her suitors with all her heart" (xviii. 165), yet their presence in the house of her husband does not drive her past endurance, as it does Telemachus. We are not the least surprised to hear their express statement that she gave each man of them some ground of hope (ii. 91). Not that she has the slightest wish to marry any of them while Odysseus is alive. But the position has a flattery for her which is full of danger. And, as we have said, she has the kind of inertness that prevents the clear realisation of danger (though it does not prevent a great dread of it). On this point too, her otherwise harmless vanity does her harm. Without sufficient force of character to rule and resist, or sufficient quickness and subtlety to outwit and out-manœuvre, she can never quite give up the belief that either her "gentle womanly influence," her personal charm, or her deftness will save her in the end from anything worse than annoyance. Antinous (the ablest of the suitors) sees this plainly (ii. 115), and takes his measures accordingly. The futile plan of the web, a plan that even if it were not discovered could do nothing but gain time, is paralleled by her astounding belief that she can check the man who has meant to murder her son by telling him that it is really very wrong to think of doing such a thing (xvi. 418 ff.). This nervelessness of grasp is shown by countless other touches. She has lost all influence with her son Telemachus through her irritating little ways: he has ceased to tell her anything he can help, and gives his confidence to the old nurse instead, who indeed shows herself a thousand times more shrewd and more reliable (ii. 349). Though her instinct is to be full of kindness to her dependents and the poor, she is so helpless in the hands of the suitors that she dare do nothing now for the old Eumæus (xv. 374 ff.). She remembers word for word, and with much sentiment, the last loving injunction of Odysseus to take care of his

old father and mother (xviii. 267), and yet she lets Laertes go away to his farm when his wife dies, and eat out his heart by himself, mourning for his son. The only service she can think of doing for him is to make him a winding-sheet, which she has no intention of finishing: and there is a spice of truth in Butler's delicious picture of Laertes' ruefulness on coming to call and hearing from Eurycleia that "her mistress was upstairs working at his pall, but she would be down directly."[1] And it is very hard to forgive her for not looking after Argus, though of course she is the last mistress in the world who would be able to keep "the careless maidens" up to their work. She is, in short, just the kind of woman who cries herself to sleep in difficulties, and wakes up looking wonderfully plump and fresh (as she does in Book xviii. 195, &c.).

And yet with all this we never for a moment cease to feel her fitness to be the well-loved wife of Odysseus. Her real gentleness, her goodness and kindness of heart, her love, which though it is never fiery is never weak, her constancy, her comfortable beauty, even her weakness and need of help—we understand how all these called to her strong husband across the seas. She had two holds upon him, and it is hard to say which was the greater: she offered him rest and she claimed his protection. He could take his fill—and perhaps more than his fill—of wild adventure and romance in other ways: and his was the self-poised strength that cares to give succour rather than receive it. Thus the old commonplace about husband and wife being the complements of one another is in some ways more than usually applicable to these two. Penelope certainly is "lost" without her husband: she needs the shelter in which to flower, and we feel that she is speaking more truly than she knows when she says she has no beauty now he is gone.

All this subtle characterisation is given from first to

[1] "The Authoress of the Odyssey," p. 131.

last throughout the poem, as even the references (which might be indefinitely multiplied) may indicate. And it is given with an unobtrusive incisiveness of touch which makes the handling truly epic. There is no over-elaboration, rather an extraordinary restraint in the work, an economy of line and modelling, so to speak, which prevents the figure ever coming forward too prominently. Its place in the picture is perfectly defined, and it keeps that place perfectly. It is the same with the wonderful characters of Helen, Nausicaa, Circe; entrancing as they are, we never feel that the light has gone out of the book when they disappear. Perhaps one of the reasons why it is so hard to write epic nowadays is that we have lost this method of subtle simplicity in the draughtsmanship. Our best writers put down so much about their characters that there simply is not room left for the onward march of a tale. On the other hand, in the "Æneid," except for Dido, and in "Paradise Lost," except for Satan, there is little characterisation at all.

And the question should be faced whether we are to suppose the Homeric feat of uniting complete modelling of the figures with epic breadth and swiftness of narrative —a feat so delicate and so hard of achievement at any time—could be achieved with absolute success by a number of writers and editors pulling each other's work about.

Let us now return to the general structure of the tale. The character of Odysseus is even more intimately bound up with this than the character of Penelope, because the interest in the central situation is raised to the highest possible pitch in and through the raising of the hero's character. The adventurous elements in the story of the Wanderer's Return are heightened by the instinctive selection of those adventures that are most full of romance and mystery, and at the same time in each one of them some leading trait of the man is put before us—his daring, his thirst for knowledge and experience, his resource, his

endurance, his dignity, and his charm. On the other hand, the tender domesticity of the theme is deepened by making him not only a husband but a son and a father, with old parents whom he loves, and a boy who is the hope of his heart (*e.g.* i. 189 ff.), and by showing at the very outset not only the desperate need of his family for his presence, but his own loneliness in the desolate island where he is held against his will by the barren magic of a nymph who is not wholly human. Further, and this is of almost equal importance for the epic character, he is at once a man who works with his hands and a man who has part in the destinies of nations. The "heroic" age, it has been often noticed, was at an advantage here over more complicated civilisations. It could find its epic heroes almost ready-made; there was little "division of labour" to cut a man out from one or other of those great spheres of action that make up the bulk of life. The man who makes his own bedstead, and the man who takes a mighty city, each sees a distinct aspect of things. In our day the two are hardly ever united, but it was not so in heroic Greece. Yet even there, there would be something of the separation, and the intuition of the poet is shown by fixing on a man like Odysseus for his purpose—a man who is not Agamemnon or Priam with their stately retinues—but yet and for all that a man who has played his part, and a chief part, in the taking of Troy. We should feel it odd if we heard of Agamemnon or Priam building their own rafts, polishing their own bedsteads, but how much we should miss from the homely vigour of the Odyssey if Odysseus could not do so with perfect naturalness! And we should miss as much from its greatness and dignity if we did not also think of the hero as the man who had fought for Helen nine long years at Troy (xxii. 227). Nay, we should miss more, for it is through this connection with Troy that the story rings with the echoes of that tragic fall which shook the world; it is through this con-

nection that we are made to feel, in almost every canto of the poem, that the Return of Odysseus was only one of many "Returns," many home-comings after long warfare, to lands that had suffered in the absence of their kings. And thus our horizon widens out from the first into that larger world of which the little rocky island was after all only a part. The table that Homer spread for us is large enough to carry "the rich banquet" that Æschylus knew.

The leading notes are struck at once in the noble opening prologue, the demand for the tale of "the many-sided hero," "the man who sacked the mighty citadel of Troy, who wandered far and wide over the world, and saw the cities of many men and learnt their minds and ways, and suffered much himself, striving to save his own life and to bring his comrades safe home again" (i. 1–5).

The great war, the life of adventure and discovery, the struggle for home and friends, here they are all before us. And then comes word of how the hero had been baffled; how his comrades had perished through their own folly, and how when all the other Greeks had returned he was still left alone, "longing for home and wife in Calypso's hollow caves" (6–15). And then the hint of his final struggle and triumph; of the decreed return to Ithaca and his dear ones, and of the contest that still awaited him there (16–19).

It is not merely the stately phrasing that makes these lines so splendid, it is the inexhaustible richness of content (suggested with easy mastery in a score of verses), the view back over a crowded life, and the view forward to struggle, victory, and home. Then, after these full chords, the effect is carried on more quietly by the flowing narrative of the scenes in Olympus and in Ithaca which link together the thought of the heroic wanderer and the thought of those who are waiting for him and in sore need of him. And they link it to another thought as well, a thought

which we are never allowed to forget, the thought of the return of Agamemnon, the outrage done to him, the leader of all the Greeks, and the long-delayed revenge taken by his son for it (Od. i. 35 ff.). This not only gives us a broad historic horizon, it helps to dignify the actual theme. The Odyssey, from one point of view, is a tale of Nemesis, of judgment upon the insolent, and restoration of order by the just, and this point of view is immensely reinforced by the parallel with another tale—and so great a tale—of wrong suffered and justice done. It helps to clear the triumph of Odysseus from the suspicion of personal spite, to make us see it for what it is, with all its fierceness, the dignified re-assertion of right. For when we think of the murder of Agamemnon and the outrages in Ithaca we realise that the forces of riot are strong in the world, and that without such men as Odysseus and Orestes, on whose strength whole communities hang, society would suffer shipwreck in anarchy. Clytemnestra (as she is sketched in the Odyssey) is demoralised by Ægisthus; and Penelope, but for her husband, would be at the mercy of the wooers. The incessant references to the Agamemnon story are thus of high importance for the moral weight of the Odyssey; and it may be added that on the separatist theory their presence would be hard to explain at all.

The character of Telemachus is so drawn as to increase our desire for a display of strength in the right cause. We see that though he is a son after a hero's heart, he is a son who needs that hero at his side. Generous, high-spirited, and affectionate, he has not as yet either the self-control or the resource that would enable him to put the crooked straight. He cannot dominate his mother so as to make her take a decided line: he can neither outwit nor overpower the truculent suitors. He is not the man to conquer, as he says himself (ii. 60).

Yet his plans are excellent, if he could only carry them through. To set out himself in search for his father has much

to recommend it, and he does at least make a beginning of action here. As regards his mother, his own wish would be that, if she persists in her attitude of neither accepting nor refusing a second husband, she should betake herself to her father's house and let the wooing be carried on there, and thus at least prevent the wreck of her son's home and property in the suitors' feasts (i. 275 ff. The advice of Athena, as often, representing the wise thought of a man's own mind[1]). But to get Penelope to leave her place in the palace willingly is quite beyond his power, and he has neither the heart nor the courage to force her against her will (see ii. 130 ff.). She wants, as many women might, both to keep her present position and have opportunity, if she chooses, to marry again. (For her feeling about leaving the house, see also xix. 533 ff.; xx. 341–344; xxi. 77–79.)

It is this rock of Penelope's passive obstinacy that all but wrecks Telemachus' plan of denouncing the suitors' conduct before the assembled citizens and the gods. In itself it is a good plan, since to drive the suitors out by force single-handed would be quite impossible for him, and it is plain from the temper of the islanders that it is hopeless to look for any vigorous backing from them. Even Mentor cannot get support in the assembly (ii. 229 ff.). Failing force, it would, in the first place, put Telemachus in a strong moral position if he could get the citizens to admit publicly that the presence of the suitors in the house was an intolerable and uncalled-for outrage (see A. Lang, "Homer and the Epic," p. 263). And in the next place, the appeal is not only to the citizens, it is to the gods ("let the gods be witness," i. 273). Now it is the conviction of Homeric times that the gods hear a solemn appeal. It is this conviction that gives force to an oath: the appeal binds the gods to listen, and if they listen, they will do justice on the guilty.

[1] See note at end of chapter.

Hence the guilty dare not call them to witness, but Telemachus may dare and does dare: "and I will call upon the gods in prayer that Zeus may grant us vengeance" (ii. 143–145). And again (ii. 211), "The gods know it now."

This part of his plan, then, may be said to succeed, and moreover it prepares our spirits for the coming vengeance, but the appeal to the citizens fails. Antinous completely outwits him here, first by laying the blame on Penelope for her double-dealing in keeping her suitors on and off—a fact Telemachus cannot gainsay—and next by boldly suggesting that if he dislikes the position he should send his mother back to her father's house—the very plan her son has thought of himself, but cannot carry out, as Antinous well knows (ii. 85–128). Thus the tables are neatly turned, the suitors carry the meeting with them, and the collapse is largely due, as we have seen, to the unfortunate fact that Telemachus and his mother cannot work together.[1] Here is the little rift within the lute that makes us long more than ever for Odysseus to put things right.

Nothing is more subtle in the Odyssey than the way this relation between Telemachus and his mother is indicated; it is done in a spirit of the finest comedy, illustrating and explaining what so nearly becomes a tragedy. They love each other and they respect each other, these two, but they do not understand each other. Telemachus has the keen-sighted sharp intolerance of youth: he discerns his mother's trifling with the suitors, and he cannot bear it. It only amuses her large-hearted husband, who understands her perfectly and never doubts the depth of her love (xviii. 281–283). But Telemachus cannot away with the policy of shilly-shally, and her parade of wifely grief under the circumstances irritates him to the last degree. So he does her much less than justice, and when she cannot endure hearing the minstrel sing "the Return of the Achaians" and comes among the suitors to

[1] For an explanation of further details, see note at end of chapter.

ask pathetically for silence (perhaps with an eye to the pathos), her son, in the sharpest way, cuts her short, and says that plenty of heroes have perished beside Odysseus and she had better listen quietly (i. 325 ff.). And this although (or perhaps in a sense because) he himself only just before has been all but crushed to the ground with the fruitless yearning for his father (i. 113 ff.). This is the first appearance of Penelope and Telemachus, and it leaves, or should leave, an ineffaceable impression on us. Perhaps it is partly because his own character is not of the strongest that the elements of indecision in Penelope's nature irritate her son so much. He can make no allowance for her hesitation and doubt in the recognition scene with Odysseus at the end: it puts him out of all patience that she should not fling her arms round her husband's neck at once, while it is easy to fancy the kindly smile with which Odysseus tells his son to leave them to themselves (xxiii. 96–140).

The old nurse, too, has on occasion to stand up for her mistress against the sharp criticisms of the young master (xx. 129 ff.). These are always prefaced, no doubt, by a filial phrase, and one that is genuinely felt, but it is only the cursory reader who will miss their sting because of that. On the other hand, Penelope does not like to feel her son changing from a boy into a man: she feels vaguely that she is losing her hold over him, and longs for the time when he was younger and more amenable (xix. 530 ff.). But she does not go the right way to regain her influence when she balks him at every turn, when she takes him to task (quite unjustifiably) in face of the assembled suitors (xviii. 215 ff.), or when she assumes an injured tone and says that she sees he is determined to tell her nothing about his father *before the suitors come into the hall* (xvii. 100 ff.). It would be easy to multiply the instances: in fact the difficulty is to stop. One could go on for ever discovering new subtleties in their relationship till one had commented on every line,

for every saying and every action is characteristic, and no two are the same. And it is only with the supreme creations of art that we can do this: with works of lesser imaginative force there comes a point where we feel the artist has seen no further. The very silences of Telemachus and his mother are almost as significant as their utterances. Penelope never says to her boy, "At any rate I have you, and you will help me." Telemachus never answers, "I want to look after you, as my father would have done." They are not enough heart in heart to feel that all cannot be lost so long as they have each other. So when Odysseus returns at last, it is not, as it would be with many a mother, the first impulse of Penelope, after the rapture of their meeting, to ask her husband what he thought of their boy: nor does it concern Telemachus much to realise that his mother will be safe at last. The situation presents itself to him entirely from the other side; it is his *father* that he wants to be comforted, loved, honoured, and compensated for his sufferings (xxiii. 100 ff.).

It would not be well to pass from Book i. without calling attention to the characteristics that fit it for its place as an introduction: its completeness of exposition, its vividness, the arresting quality of the situation presented, and the sense that something fateful is set on foot. Wilamowitz gives so good a description of its general structure and the effective way in which it lays the foundation for the whole poem, that it is a pleasure to translate his words:—

"We are shown the wooers and how they play their game day after day; we are shown Penelope, her grief, her loneliness, and the influence she has over them. We are shown Telemachus, feeling the burden of their presence, but unable to shake himself free from it. Antinous and Eurymachus are both introduced, and we hear what is necessary about Laertes and Eurycleia. And then, very quietly, so quietly that we do not at first discern the goal

at which it aims, the hand of the divinity begins to move and work amid the chaos."[1]

This could not be better put, and makes one wish more than ever that Wilamowitz had spent his powers on sympathetic and not destructive criticism.

NOTE.—So much trouble has been made by Kirchhoff and others over the speech of Athena to Telemachus in Book i. (269–302) that it may be well, even at the risk of repetition, to add an exposition of it in detail. Moreover, I make no doubt that the latter part of the speech (293–302), counselling the slaying of the suitors, is not original. Once it is removed, the whole is readily intelligible. It may need a little filling-out, but that is all. I translate the relevant portions, condensing slightly :—

(i. 269 ff.) "You must bethink you how you can drive the suitors from your halls. So listen to my words. Summon the Achaians to the meeting-place to-morrow, and speak out before them all, and let the gods be witness. Call upon the wooers to return to their own lands, and for your mother, if her heart is set on marriage, let her go back to her father's house. They (*i.e.* her father and his kinsfolk) will arrange the marriage and set out the bride-gifts, all that should go with a well-loved daughter. And for you yourself, I would have you fit out a ship and make search for your father. Go first to Pylos and ask of Nestor, and then to fair-haired Menelaus. If you hear that your father is alive and will return (287), then you might still endure the wasting of your substance for one more year (288); but if you learn that he is dead and gone, come back to your own land and pile him a barrow and pay him the dues of death, and give your mother to a husband" (292).

["But when you have done all this (293), then bethink you how to slay the suitors in your halls, by craft or openly; for you are a child no longer, and must put away childish thoughts. Have you not heard of the glory that Orestes won, slaying the man who slew his sire? (300). You too, my friend, are fair and strong, and you must be valiant, so that men to come may speak well of you" (301, 302).]

The urgent matter for Telemachus is to get the suitors out of the house as soon as he possibly can. On the other hand, he cannot bear his mother to marry if there is any chance that Odysseus is still alive.

Athena's proposals are based on the knowledge that Penelope is unwilling to make an end of the wooing either one way or the other (*cp.* i. 249, 250). That being so, Telemachus is to couple the solemn appeal to the gods and the demand for the suitors to leave the palace with an arrangement that his mother, if the wooing must go on, shall receive them at her father's house. Penelope's father and his kinsfolk (the "they" of the translation) are to undertake the responsibility of all arrangements for the marriage. Telemachus is to have nothing to do with it, so long as he does not know whether his father is alive or dead. He himself is to set out in search of Odysseus. He may hear good tidings of him. In that case, *if his mother and the suitors have not submitted to his wish, if, in spite of his solemn*

[1] *Homerische Untersuchungen*, p. 11 (*Das Erste Buch*).

appeal, they are still in the palace, he may put up with the trouble for another year, hoping for his father's return (287, 288). The hypothesis here italicised is not given in full, but it ought to be easily understood from the context and from the "conditional" turn of l. 288. It is indeed so likely in itself that the poet does not feel it necessary to set it out at length.

Or Telemachus may hear that his father is dead. If so, he may acquiesce in his mother's marriage and give her away himself (289–292): not *force* her to marry, as some commentators suggest; nothing is said about force, and besides it is plain that Penelope, who is already not entirely hostile to marriage, would not need much forcing, once she were sure Odysseus was dead.

So far, then, there is no difficulty. But the proposal that Telemachus should plot the slaughter of the suitors after one of them, with his own consent, has married his widowed mother, is certainly astounding. I do not believe the lines can have been written for this place by the original poet. It is noticeable that the last two verses with the suggestive comparison between Orestes and Telemachus are to be found at the close of Nestor's speech in iii. (199, 200), where they are quite in place. Nestor knows something about the situation in Ithaca (iii. 211 ff.), and is anxious to brace Telemachus up to face it like a man. I conceive the awkward passage in Book i. to be an expansion of Nestor's hint, added to Athena's counsel by a careless rhapsode under the dominating influence of the Orestes story.

The actual failure of the appeal to the citizens and the reasons for it are set forth in the text. That Telemachus should forestall his scheme by bursting out with the proposal to the suitors themselves beforehand and so giving them time to make their plans (i. 368 ff.), seems to me entirely in keeping with his character—always more impulsive than strong.

But he succeeds in making his solemn appeal to the gods as Athena had suggested: and it is to this part of the plan that Zeus refers at the opening of Book v., when Athena complains that the suitors are trying to murder Telemachus, who has now sailed from Ithaca. Zeus answers: "My child, did you not plan this yourself, so that Odysseus might avenge himself on his foes at his return?" (v. 22–24). That is to say, Zeus reminds Athena that the present state of affairs is largely due to her own plan, *i.e.* the plan that Telemachus should come forward, appeal to the gods and the citizens, and set out in search of his father. One of her objects was to call down vengeance on the wrong-doers, and this object she has gained, and the emphasis on the gain is meant for the reader's benefit, so that we may realise vengeance is afoot at last. One result, however, has been to make the suitors resolve on the murder of the man they can no longer treat as a negligible quantity: but this resolution Athena can easily frustrate, as Zeus goes on to indicate, and as she proceeds to do. This little dialogue between father and daughter in v. can thus be explained if we have i. and ii. before us: otherwise it seems to me singularly perplexing.

CHAPTER XII

THE WANDERINGS

To go in search of his father is obviously the only thing now left for Telemachus to do, and he never shows himself more his father's son than when he gives both the suitors and his mother the slip. As regards the structure of the epic, it has been noticed again and again with what skill the narrative of his search balances the narrative of his father's wanderings until both streams of the tale join together in the same channel and lead steadily and grandly to the climax (Leaf, "Companion to the Iliad," pp. 21, 22; A. Lang, "Homer and the Epic," p. 247). It is not so often noticed how every point of detail in the "Telemachia" helps towards three important results; how every successive touch makes us realise more and more the dominating force of Odysseus himself, the greatness of the war in which he had been engaged, and finally the perils and sorrows that the other heroes, especially Agamemnon, had to endure in their turn. The bare headings for the Books as given by Merry in his school edition may serve to indicate this:—

Book iii.: "Nestor recounts the sufferings of the Greeks after the fall of Troy"; "Nestor describes the murder of Agamemnon." Book iv.: "Old memories make them all weep"; "The tale of Odysseus in disguise"; "The story of the wooden horse"; "Proteus reveals the fate of the Greek heroes" (including Agamemnon).

Thus at one and the same time a broad basis, a real epic basis, is laid for the poem, and yet the interest in the individual hero, far from being dissipated, grows as

we hear of his mighty exploits, and realise the ineffaceable impression he has left on Nestor, the old counsellor, Menelaus, the gallant warrior, and Helen, the fairest of women. The figure of Helen alone, so wonderfully is it drawn, would be enough to illuminate the whole background of the past war. Not even in the Iliad is her subtle charm and her deadly power given with more delicate incisiveness than here (see above, c. x.).

The "Telemachia" closes with the suitors' plot to murder the lad (iv. fin.). This is absolutely necessary for our right attitude towards them: otherwise we should only feel that they are no worse than a set of rough young barons, insolent, doubtless, and lawless, but quite good-hearted at bottom. And indeed this is just what they are; but the poet would have us realise to what this kind of lawless insolence leads when there is no strong man like Odysseus to keep it down, if need be with an iron hand. The fact that the suitors are *not* made into black-hearted ruffians adds greatly to the solidity of the conception, but we should fail to get the full effect if the evil consequences were not, in some such way as this, brought clearly before us. Otherwise the whole structure would fall out of balance, and we should find our sympathies in the end actually swinging right away from Odysseus to his foes.

The voyage of Odysseus from the isle of Calypso to the land of the Phæacians (v. and vi.) is usually taken as due to one poet, and that one the earliest of all; but the sojourn at Scheria itself, and the narrative of his adventures as told by Odysseus before the Phæacian court, fare ill at the hands of the separatist critics. Certain attempts at excision one can only pass over with a sigh: for instance, the sacrilegious proposals to tamper with the perfect figure of Nausicaa. Kirchhoff's suggestion that her farewell speech to Odysseus may have been a stop-gap added by a "*bearbeiter*"[1] can only be set side by side with Fick's pronounce-

[1] Kirch., *Die Homerische Odyssee*, Notes on Od., viii. 456–468, p. 214.

ment that the hero's entreaty at their first meeting is made *more* impressive if we *omit* his comparison of the maiden princess to the tall palm-tree that grew beside Apollo's temple.[1] Ordinary argument is hardly in place here: but there are other matters in which it may be of use. It may be observed, for instance, that the scene of the games in Scheria—where the unknown stranger surprises the competitors by showing that he can outdo them all with ease, once he chooses to put forth his strength—is almost deliberately calculated to prepare us for another trial of skill, where the game is to be a game of life and death. And to point the reference we have the express claim by the hero himself of his prowess with the bow—the bow that is to play so great a part in the second "game" (viii. 215; *cp.* xxi. 426 ff.).

Objection has been made to the way in which Odysseus' narrative is introduced, and the concealment of his identity until his tale begins. But examination, I think, will show the subtlest skill at work throughout. Odysseus does not want to be known for two very good reasons: he realises that if the Phæacians discover who he is they will only be the more loth to let him go; they do, in the upshot, keep him a day longer when they find it out. And he has had enough of detention by loving hands. Secondly, he does not want, if he can help it, to recount his sufferings; they are too near him and too keen. And he knows that the Phæacians will be as eager for the tale as we are.

Therefore when Arete asks him who he is, while he professes, with deft diplomacy, to give her a frank answer, he is careful at the same time to tell her nothing of his identity (which is of course what she really wants to know), and to hint that he cannot bear to speak of all his past life. A vivid account of his adventures on the way from

[1] This because the reference to Delos conflicts with Fick's theory of a strictly non-Ionian origin for the poem. ("*Die Hom. Od. in der ursprünglichen Sprachform*," B. i., *Der Homeride Kynaithos*, p. 282.)

Calypso's island completes the veiling of his refusal (vii. 241–250, 259–289[1]). All the grace and humour involved in this courteous baffling of Arete's inconvenient inquiry are missed by Kirchhoff and Wilamowitz.[2] These critics apparently think it is quite impossible for a diplomatist to say "I will tell you all you ask," and then tell you nothing of the kind, and let you see that he has no intention of doing so.

The concealment of his name by Odysseus is not only quite adequately "motived": it serves another end: it increases our excitement: we want the Phæacians to find out the secret, we want to be spectators of their delight and interest when they know that the unknown guest who has charmed them is the famous Odysseus. (And here we have a foretaste, with a difference, of what we shall feel in another house when, for other reasons, he remains unknown.) The sense of his fame is brought fresh before us by the reiteration of his exploits in the songs of the unconscious minstrel. And on the other hand the tears of the hero at the memory of Troy quicken our sympathy with his longing for his home, and our readiness to answer to every personal touch in his narrative. All these gathered emotions prepare us for the splendid opening of his tale, an opening which can only be fully appreciated when these points are felt. First the great name flashes out, clear and majestic after the long delay, like a sword drawn from the scabbard in some stately ceremony (ix. 19, 20): "I am Odysseus, the son of Laertes, the man whom all men know, and whose fame has gone out into all the world."

The full acceptance here by Odysseus of his own renown is freed from all suspicion of boasting just because he is speaking to friends who have already given him endless honour, as though he were "a god among men," and already proclaimed the glory of the name they do not yet

[1] 251–258 is universally recognised as an interpolation.
[2] See Wil., *op. cit.*, p. 133, *Kirke und Kalypso*.

know to be his. Thus he is not asking for respect, but justifying those who have already given it. Indirectly it is a royal compliment to them, and the delicate courtesy with which he prefaces the great announcement by saying that he will tell them his name and his home so that they may always be friends, adds one more charm to the splendour.

After the name follows the loving description of the rough island that has proved her right now to be called the nurse of heroes, and then, ever with the same courtesy, the sigh of longing for it, "for nothing can be sweeter to a man than his own home and his own kin, though he should dwell amid all wealth and comfort in a foreign land" (34–36).

Thus once more, as at the opening of Book i. (but without a hint of copying), we have the three notes struck: the note of home, the note of adventure, and the note of old renown. The thought of the renown just here whets the edge of our eagerness for the coming tale: it is not the adventures of any casual traveller we are to hear, but the trials of a proved hero.

This tale itself (which, as I shall try to show, exhibits a profoundly natural unity) has been split up by the critics for utterly frivolous reasons; *e.g.* part is supposed to have been written originally in the third person and not the first, because it is thought that Odysseus could never have known what befell his comrades in the house of Circe after they had left Eurylochus and before he came thither himself (x. 233–243). As though every one of them would not have been sure to tell him all about it afterwards! All such difficulties vanish on inspection. Odysseus could know, without being told, that the wonderful young man whom he met in the enchanted glades was Hermes (x. 277)—just as Helen could know that the woman at her side was Aphrodite before the goddess openly revealed herself (Il. iii. 396 ff.)—simply because Odysseus, like Helen, possessed some mother-wit. As Andrew Lang says, with a thrust that relieves one's feelings, "Odysseus was a

hero and not a commentator." The details about the Læstrygonians, the name of the fountain, &c. (x. init.), were told to Odysseus by the two of his crew who escaped. Considering that the poem actually says (x. 117) "the other two darted off and reached the ships," it seems more than usually perverse for Kirchhoff to insist that they were all killed. Of course Kirchhoff is ready with the assertion that l. 117 is an "interpolation" (*op. cit.*, Excurs. iii. pp. 307, 308), but this is surely nothing more nor less than to destroy harmony in order to create difficulties. And to make the plain places rough is not the work of a wise critic.[1]

It is worth adding that if the narrative of Odysseus were thrown into the third person we should have to give up all the little touches of individual confession, of self-criticism and self-approval, that infuse such vitality into the whole: such as "But one thing I found was too hard for me:" "But I would not listen; far better would it have been if I had:" "That was the saddest sight I saw in all my wanderings over the seas." These, if transferred to the poet, would be quite out of keeping with the Homeric method, for Homer in his own person hardly ever allows himself a

[1] It is quite different with the tale of Eumæus about the circumstances of his carrying-off in babyhood (xv. 390–484). These Eumæus could not have found out, and it is much to the point to observe this and to question whether the tale (which in many other ways does not harmonise with the original conception of the swineherd's character and position) is not by another hand, as I, for one, believe it to be. Elsewhere the Odyssey, if it is fairly treated, will be found never to break this rule of only making the narrator tell what he saw or what he could easily have learnt or inferred. In Book xxiv. there is an interesting little touch in the narrative given by the dead suitor in the under-world. Amphimedon believes that the trial of the bow was a deliberate plan concocted between Odysseus and his wife (167, 168). This is, of course, an incorrect inference, but just the kind of inference the suitors might draw, and thus it gives the vivid stamp of a personal narrative to the account. But the use Kirchhoff and his followers make of this happy touch is the wild one of supposing that it is a trace of an original version of the Odyssey;—as though the shrewd Odysseus, who knows his wife through and through, would ever have confided to a woman like Penelope a plan that called for the utmost self-control, discretion, and instant resolution.

comment on his characters or his scenes: and if they are cut out altogether, the loss to the liveliness of the tale would be irreparable.

There is another form of attack upon the narrative which depends on the entirely uncritical belief that wherever there is repetition and resemblance—whether of incident, character, or poetry—there there must be borrowing; *e.g.* Circe and Calypso have similar features, therefore Circe is borrowed from Calypso or *vice versa*. I venture to call this belief "entirely uncritical" because it makes no distinction between the cases where repetition weakens the poetical effect and where it enhances it. Repetition is suspicious where, as in the two duels in the Iliad (Books iii. and vii.), the second incident is an anti-climax to the first, or where (as in the two accounts of the Creation in Genesis) the two stories only purport to describe the same event. But sometimes repetition has a real and great poetic value. Take a supreme instance: the underplot of the cruelty to Gloucester playing into and answering the overplot of the cruelty to Lear, till the whole world seems to rock with the horror of the same sin. And it is impossible even to think of Lear without thinking of the double outrage he suffers at the hands of the one and the other daughter. But the line of argument that Kirchhoff and Wilamowitz adopt would make Goneril into a mere "doublette" of Regan.

Similarly here, in its degree, the very prologue we have been discussing heightens by its use of repetition our sense of the seductions that Odysseus has withstood. It is not one goddess only who has wooed him, and whom he has refused for his wife's sake. "Nothing can be so dear as home," he tells us: "Calypso, the fairest of nymphs, would have kept me in her hollow caves; Circe, the enchantress, would have held me in her halls; but they could not win the heart within my breast" (ix. 29, 32). Who can be blind to the loss we should sustain if either of these names were removed? It is the repetition of the same temptation in

varying forms that tries the hero's mettle. This secret of the effect of repetition lies indeed so near the first principles of story-telling that it is almost the first discovery made by all ballads and all fairy-tales with their constant formula of "The first time this, the second time this, but the third time something else." From "Sister Anne, Sister Anne" in "Bluebeard" to Sir Bedivere and Excalibur in the "Morte d'Arthur," the device has been used and used again.

The inveterate suspicion of borrowing leads to another deplorable result: the distinctive features of the two situations are constantly overlooked. Thus we get from Wilamowitz the astonishing opinion that Circe and Calypso have practically the same character, and would look much the same to an artist (*op. cit.*, p. 116). But Calypso is essentially the merely lovely, kindly, simple, and very dull creature who has nothing to offer the man she would enchain except her beauty, her tears, and the prospect of a perpetual life with her; while Circe is the subtle enchantress for all time, as full of dexterous wiles and far-reaching knowledge as Odysseus himself, as quick to see when her charm has failed as Calypso is slow, almost as marvellously drawn in her union of irresponsible ensnaring and generous impulse as Shakespeare's own Cleopatra.

There is another point connected with the Homeric use of repetition which calls for discussion. This has to do with the employment of general formulas—"tags," if one chooses to call them so—repeated without overmuch concern for the possible variation of detail on each particular occasion. Such, for example, is the descriptive phrase, "built high in a conspicuous place," used alike for the bedchamber of Telemachus, the palace of Circe, and the hut of the swineherd (Od. i. 426; x. 211, 253; xiv. 6).

Wilamowitz says the use of it in the first instance makes sheer nonsense,[1] and shows that the verse is borrowed; but this argument will not bear inspection, because it takes no

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 8, *Das Erste Buch.*

account of the fact that, whether borrowed or not, the verse cannot possibly have seemed sheer nonsense either to the poet who introduced it or to the listeners who accepted it. We must ask how they conceived the verse to be taken, whatever its origin, and when we have found the answer to that, we shall see there is no need for the hypothesis of borrowing. The fact is, that the use of these formulas closely resembles the use of masks in the Attic drama; they serve to indicate in a generalised form the outline of the required situation, without troubling the listener's attention by points of detail. And thus, when used with discretion, they greatly aid the epic swiftness and simplicity of narrative. The poet trusts to our wit to fill in the outline for ourselves, if we so choose, by different detail appropriate to the different cases. Thus, to take the instance just quoted, the words "standing out in a conspicuous place" (lit. "in a place seen round"), when we meet them in Book x., may suggest to us, if we like, an open lawn all round Circe's palace, but it is our fault and not the poet's if we go on to say they must imply in Book i. a space without any building all round the prince's bedchamber. There they need only suggest that the room could be seen from all parts of the palace, which is just what would be the case if it was on a top storey in the corner of the court.

Similarly the phrase "they looked on one another" is used in the Iliad of the Myrmidons' astonished gaze after the sudden entry of Priam (Il. xxiv. 484), and used again in the Odyssey of the interchange of looks between the maidservants when the beggar offers his services (Od. xviii. 320). But "stared" is the suggestion in one case, and "winked" the suggestion in the other.

It is difficult to believe, but it is undoubtedly the case, that no more serious arguments than what we have mentioned are brought against the unity of Odysseus' narrative, with the important exception of the difficulties suggested

by the Nekuia in Book xi., a matter we shall discuss presently. And such arguments are allowed to obscure the astonishing unity of treatment in all the adventures, where the interest of an explorer's work, the sheer charm of a fairy-tale, and the mystery of allegory, are united as they never have been before or since. Perhaps it is our very familiarity with the incidents that makes us overlook this uniqueness in their handling. Good stories, even good fairy-stories, are not uncommon, but the perfect mastery of allegory is so rare, that, in spite of Plato's myths and the "Pilgrim's Progress," many excellent critics are inclined to distrust allegory altogether as a possible form of art. And here, from first to last, in the tales of the Lotos-eaters (ix.), of Circe and the swine (x.), of the Sirens' island (xii. init.), of the narrow passage between Scylla and Charybdis (xii. fin.), we have themes that to the end of time will stand for symbols of spiritual realities, and yet which are quite enthralling in themselves taken simply as narratives of physical events. Our eagerness for the escape of Odysseus' comrades from the Lotus-eating land, when we read the tale as children and only think of the honey-sweet fruit as a curious product of the country, is every whit as keen as the interest that arises when we look back on it all from the standpoint of Tennyson's poem.

The secret of success lies, I suppose, in taking for the symbol an event which in itself contains the same element as the thing symbolised, so that a channel is opened, as it were, between the shallows and the depths of the same ocean, and the fancy can plunge at will, far or near, from what seems known and simple into the unknown mysteries that flow round it and through it. After all, at bottom, it means the same weakness to eat a fruit that destroys physical initiative, and to forget the heavenly kingdom in a palace of indolence. And not to row the ship out of danger because of an enchanting melody is really to forget home and kindred in the thirst for rich experience. There must

always be a difference, of course, between symbol and thing symbolised; but the very point is, that it is the sense of the *community through the differences* that gives its fascination to symbolism. For perhaps the human spirit divines that experience is destined to strange transformations as it passes up from one stage of life to another and yet will ever remain recognisably the same; and perhaps one of the spirit's greatest longings is to discern and represent to itself in some fashion how this may be.

All the endless significance of the Homeric allegories is suggested without one hint of sermonising, by a miraculous simplicity of touch that the critic feels, but despairs of describing. "They longed to stay there and eat the lotus and forget their journey home," of the comrades who are all but lost (ix. 96, 97). "It is hard for mortal men to pluck it, but the gods can do all things," of the magic herb that gave Odysseus power to resist the spell of Circe (x. 305, 306). "A spirit had put the waves to rest," of the strange calm that fell when the ship was nearing the Sirens' island [1] (xii. 169). But it is impossible even to translate without either spoiling the delicate fabric or weakening the vivid suggestion, or both.

It may help us to realise how unique is the Homeric method here if we recall the fact that, so far as we can tell from their extant works, neither Pindar, Æschylus, Sophocles, nor Euripides show any love for allegory of this peculiar kind. They all feel the charm of the old tales, they all recount them in their songs, but they treat them either as mere decoration, or as material for actual human drama. They do not use them to give this sidelong, pregnant hint of likeness in unlikeness, of possible transformations in experience, of something in physical incidents

[1] A remarkable instance of the way criticism can overreach itself is found when Wilamowitz declares that this marvellous touch can have but scant significance, and that the repetition of the lovely formula, "the wind dropped and there was a dead calm," indicates clumsy borrowing from Od. v. 391 (*op. cit.*, "Kirke und Kalypso," p. 118).

that adumbrates another something different from the physical, something in our life that means a different life. So far as this goes, Plato, paradoxical as it may sound, might claim to be the only Homerid among them all. Homer would have understood his story of the cave. But Plato has become an apostle as well as a poet, and the fervour of his religious teaching colours the pellucid clearness of the Homeric fountain.

Further, the adventures of Odysseus show another unity beside this unity of treatment, a unity perhaps even more important so far as the special purpose of the Odyssey is concerned, and that is the unity of the hero's character. It is these adventures that prepare us for his action on his return. "Odysseus in the palace of Alcinous is the same man as Odysseus in the hall at Ithaca," says Professor Ker (*op. cit.*). It is very rightly said. And it is worth while analysing how we come to realise this. It is from the adventures we learn that he is not only astute, he is on occasion daring to the very verge of rashness. In action his impulse is always to get face to face with danger. It is so when he slings his sword across his shoulder and strides through the haunted glens to the house of Circe in defiance of Eurylochus: it is so when he beards the Cyclops: it is so when he cannot help arming himself to fight with Scylla. We know beforehand that he will face the suitors man to man, whatever Telemachus may say. Even his cunning is of the audacious kind, that will stake all on one bold ruse: the man who thought of hiding under the ram's belly is just the man to disguise himself as a defenceless beggar and welcome the trial of his own bow. We are prepared for this also, it may be added, by earlier allusions: by the minstrel's song of the wooden horse, by Helen's account of his daring entry into Troy *disguised as a beggar* (iv. 242 ff.). But these, after all, are only hints, and it is only in his own story that we get the full reach of his courage displayed and exemplified.

Moreover, we now learn that he has in him that "daimonic" element, which means among other things a latent store of terrible fierceness, a fierceness that can leap out at need and destroy like the lightning. He keeps it back, but it is there: he does not hew the head of Eurylochus from his shoulders in his anger at his cowardice, but he knows very well he could have done it, "though Eurylochus was my own near kinsman" (x. 441). We know it too, and it is the knowledge of this element that gives half its power to the scene where he stands naked before the suitors, with the bow that only he can bend in his hand. It is the knowledge of this that makes us shudder when Melanthius kicks the man he takes for a beggar, and when Antinous flings an ox-bone at his head. And we feel a flash of it when Odysseus seizes the old nurse by the throat in his fear that she may disclose his plot.

CHAPTER XIII

THE HOUSE OF DEATH

The climax of all the adventures is the great adventure in the world of Death, and it is the climax in more ways than one. It may be, as suggested above, that the poet was following an old legend here, but in any case he was following an instinct of the human heart. After the tale of Troy and the hairbreadth escapes by land and sea, after Circe and Calypso and the Lotus-eaters, the thought rises—there is one more adventure this man must face, and that is the adventure of Death. And round death there gather, as there should, all that was sweet and great and terrible in the man's own life, and the dim past along with it and the shadowy future. Everything is summed up here in this mighty Book of the Nekuia, Book xi., placed, as a Greek would place it, near the centre of the poem: the care of Odysseus for his comrades and his crew, the intense love of mother, father, wife, and child, the magic of the fair women famous in story, the prowess of the stalwart heroes who had been his mates at Troy, the fallen greatness of Agamemnon brooding over the tragedy of his own return, the announcement of the struggle that awaits Odysseus himself, and above all the mysterious prophecy of what is to happen when that struggle is over and past, the call out of the sea that is to come to the hero at the end of his life, the wonderful call, the knowledge of which makes the close of the Odyssey wide and free and splendid, safe from the dread of commonplace stagnation at the end of such a life.

And over everything, not obscuring the individual

interest, heightening and deepening it rather, and yet leading us out beyond it, there broods "the sense of tears in mortal things," till the words of Anticleia to her son and the cry of Achilles for his father seem to speak for the whole host of "brides and youths unwed and old men who had suffered much, and gentle maidens with the young grief in their hearts, and warriors who had died in battle with their blood-stained armour on their backs." [1]

A man who had seen that could face the suitors without fear.

The view of the spirit-world held by the poet can be shown, I think, to be singularly definite and precise, once we omit the scenes of Minos, Sisyphus, and Heracles in the latter part of the book (xi. 565–627), as almost all scholars have agreed to do (see Merry, *ad loc.*). The difficulties that arise from the changes in landscape and cosmology are well known: *e.g.* the sudden introduction of punishment for sinners, the sudden and unexplained transition from the low shore among the willows to a wide and mountainous region. In addition, I cannot help thinking it highly improbable that Odysseus, who was no Dante, would have described the torture of Tityos to his Phæacian hosts when Alcinous had already spoken of the man in terms that might well imply he had been an honoured friend [2] (Od. vii. 324).

The remainder of the book shows a clearly thought-out scheme, and one that seems to me in striking agreement with the view presented in Iliad xxiii. and Odyssey xxiv., though I am aware that quite the contrary has been held to be the case.

[1] xi. 37–41. It is possible, and I think likely, that these lines have got shifted from their proper place at the end of the whole scene (viz. between 632 and 633) to their present not altogether satisfactory position. The addition of the interpolation 565–627 (for which see below) would have been calculated to dislocate the original sequence.

[2] Is it possible that this whole section (565–627) is due to a poet following the form of the legend found in the Red Indian tale, where the hero sees the signs of punishment and reward?

The first point to grasp is that in all three Books it is conceived that the souls of men unburied cannot pass the actual gates of Hades' palace: but none the less they must leave the upper world and come down to his kingdom. They have lost the full life of earth, and are not yet free of the House of Death, and their lot is the most pitiful of all. The moment Patroclus is slain on the field his spirit flies to the under-world (Il. xvi. 856). But in Iliad xxiii. he can say to Achilles: "Bury me, that I may pass the gates of Hades. For now the dead souls keep me off, they will not let me come to them across the river, and I wander helplessly up and down along the palace-gates"[1] (Il. xxiii. 71–74).

The river is no doubt the river Styx, here in Homer, as so often afterwards, the great dividing line, though there is as yet no Charon and no boat. But there is an asphodel meadow on the hither side (Od. xi. 539 &c.), and this meadow is more or less neutral ground between the living and the dead. Even the souls who have crossed the Styx can recross to this meadow if they choose: and it is here, no doubt, that Patroclus wanders, and here that Odysseus himself, a living man, is allowed to venture, and here that the *unburied* suitors meet Agamemnon and Achilles in Odyssey xxiv. It is plain that Odysseus himself never gets beyond the meadow, nor, as it would appear, ever even sees the Styx, though he sees the river Cocytus that comes

[1] 74. ἀν' εὐρυπυλὲς Ἄϊδος δῶ. I take ἀνά here just in its primitive sense of "along," "up along," not implying *inside*, which would make needless difficulty. Ἀνά never does *mean* "inside," it only comes often to *imply* it, because of the context, and here the context excludes the implication and confines us to the original sense. (*Cp.* in English the difference between "*hanging about*" and "*running about* a house.")

For other Homeric instances of ἀνά where the translation "in" would be quite unsuitable, see

Il. xviii. 546. τοὶ δὲ στρέψασκον ἀν' ὄγμους (of men ploughing): "They turned back *along* (or *at*) the furrows."

Il. xix. 212. ἀνὰ πρόθυρον τετραμμένος (of a corpse): "With the feet turned *up towards, in the direction of*, the door." (And *cp.* the common phrases ἀνὰ ποταμόν, ἀνὰ ῥοόν.)

from it (Od. x. 513 ff.). And the fact that he does not penetrate into the very depths of the under-world, and never beholds Persephone or Hades face to face, gives a great sense of reticence and mystery to the narrative.

Now so long as the bodies are unburied or unburnt and the spirits have not crossed the Styx, it is possible for them to return occasionally as shades to the upper world, as Patroclus does in Iliad xxiii., and as Elpenor seems to threaten in Odyssey xi. 73. (See Leaf, "Iliad," vol. ii., Appendix L: a treatment of the subject to which I owe much.) Before burial the links of connection between the dead and the living are not yet entirely severed, and thus it is still possible for the shades to speak, after a fashion, with living men when they choose, in dreams, for instance, like Patroclus, or in the limbo of the asphodel meadow, like Elpenor. But, buried or unburied, after death they lose the power that would enable them to act freely for themselves in our world.

Patroclus and Elpenor, for instance, can only implore others, in this shadowy manner, to act for them. In the Iliad (xxiii. 103, 104) the spirits are said to be deprived of *phrenes;* in the Odyssey (x. 493–495) of *phrenes* and of *nous*. The loss of *nous* and *phrenes* means, I take it, the loss of this mundane energy of brain that sustains action in real waking life, the loss of what we might almost call *vital force*. For nothing can be made of the statements either in the Iliad or the Odyssey, if either is taken to imply the denial of *intelligence as such*. Patroclus in the Iliad and all the ghosts in the Odyssey have plenty of intelligence. Monro's note to the Iliadic passage hits the point. His comment on the word *phrenes* is as follows:—"'midriff'—the physical organ of life and thought, the condition of *real* life"—that is, I conceive, the life in which a mind can, by its own choice, produce changes in matter. Of course an Homeric Greek would not have put it in this way, but this is the kind of distinction that Homer has in view.

Intelligence may persist after death, but the power of acting in the world of matter has gone. Only for Patroclus and Elpenor certain channels of connection with living minds remain open, while for Anticleia (whose body has been burnt) a draught of warm blood is needed even to let her spirit have speech with her son. Teiresias is the one exception to both these laws of limitation: he has not lost his power, nor been cut off from connection in this way; yet even he finds the blood an assistance (xi. 96; x. 493–495). It is just because Elpenor is still unburied that he is able, without drinking the blood, to recognise Odysseus and speak to him at once; and because he can do this, Odysseus, not having been instructed in these mysteries, is surprised that Anticleia cannot do it also (Od. xi. 84 ff., 140 ff.).

This shows, by the way, how difficult it is to tear out the episode of Elpenor from the pathetic episodes of Anticleia and Teiresias. And the episode of Elpenor ought to justify itself by the sharp sense of actuality that it brings with it. Suddenly, in this dim uncertain world, on the verge between life and death, Odysseus meets the lad that had been one of his crew not twenty-four hours before. The very weakness of Elpenor's character (on which stress is laid in x. 552–555) gives a keen poignancy to the sudden change. Light-natured and feather-headed, he stands before his captain now with all the pathos and dignity of death about him. So does the poet prepare us for the change from the enchanted house of Circe to the solemn house of Death, and, once we grasp his drift, we feel that the simplicity of his method is equal to its effectiveness.

It has been complained that the visit to Teiresias is useless in our Odyssey as it stands, because Teiresias does not tell Odysseus *how* to get home and Circe does (in Book xii.), and yet Circe tells Odysseus that Teiresias will help him about his journey (x. 538–540):—

"He will tell you of your way and the stages of your journey and your return, how you are to pass across the sea."

But—omitting the possibility that these lines may have slipped in by mistaken repetition from iv. 389, 390—we are justified in inferring from the general situation itself that Circe does not send Odysseus to Teiresias only to find out the details of his route: she thinks, no doubt, that he could give help in this respect also (as he does by reinforcing her caution about Thrinacia), but her main object must be that he should tell Odysseus the state of affairs he may expect on his return to Ithaca. She knows that Teiresias is a prophet and a seer in a sense in which she is not, and she sees (what the commentators do not see) that it would be as well for Odysseus to learn what has happened in his home during his long absence. And she is quite justified by the result. It is through the intervention of Teiresias that Odysseus learns about the presence of the suitors in his house, a knowledge he could have gained no other way, and a knowledge that determines his action on his arrival in Ithaca—that makes him see, for instance, the wisdom of going to the faithful swineherd's hut before he risks a visit to the palace.

And through the meeting with his mother's spirit, which is bound up with the appearance of Teiresias, he learns not only of his wife's faithfulness, but of his father's helpless longing for his return. Our own longing that Odysseus should come home before it is too late—our longing kindled by his longing—is thus raised to the highest possible pitch. Indeed the dark background of the Homeric under-world makes this desire almost unbearably poignant here. Anticleia has died in fruitless yearning for her son, and now she can never clasp him to her breast in the empty world of the phantoms. Heaven send that he is home in time to give that comfort to the old Laertes at the least! Thus Book xi. not only prepares

us for the struggle with the suitors, and the vengeance upon them: it demands for the appeasement of the desire it has aroused in us the meeting between father and son in Book xxiv. No poet who looked for an answering throb of sympathy from his listeners could possibly write the words of Anticleia, and never tell us if father and son met each other again on earth. If xxiv. is "late," then the whole of xi. must be "late" too.

The meeting with Anticleia leads at once to the vision of the fair women of old time. His mother's spirit as it floats away from Odysseus bids him mark what he sees that he may tell his wife of it afterwards.[1] Then, one by one, the lovely figures rise before us, their long robes trailing among the tall spires of the asphodel. The beauty of the scene is manifest, but its full significance is not always grasped. Its office in the first place is to open for us the vistas of the past and so give us the long sweep that Epic loves. And it does this partly by turning genealogy into poetry, or rather, we may say, by unveiling the poetry that is hidden in genealogy—hidden for us more than for the Greeks, with their freedom from the burdens of snobbery on the one hand and statistics on the other, and with the light of their magical fancies about divine ancestors to illumine the distant past. Moreover, we should remember that before the dawn of history, with its records of "epochs" and "periods," it could only be through genealogies, or only through them in the main, that the historical thirst could be satisfied, just as before the time of atlases geography rested upon travellers' tales and mariners' guides and the mere names of foreign places.

But here the past is not only opened by genealogy, it is linked in a thousand subtle ways to the present, and to the

[1] xi. 223, 224. It takes all the sparkle out of the words if Anticleia is supposed only to mean the *general* sights in the House of Death. The one thing Penelope would be sure to ask about would be the famous beauties of the past, and Anticleia is woman enough to realise this.

present that we know in the Odyssey. This Vision of Fair Women could have been composed for no other place.[1] The first of the company is Tyro (235), the grandmother of Nestor, and Chloris, his mother, follows later. Now Nestor in the Odyssey, as in the Iliad, plays a far from unimportant part. He has been the first to welcome the son of Odysseus and send him on his way. And in the Odyssey, as in the Iliad, stress is laid upon his age and all the generations he had seen: "Thrice, men say, he has been king through the generations of men: yea, like an immortal he seems to me to look upon" (Od. iii. 245, 246. B. and L.). Far back then, right into the abysm of time, it must have seemed to his hearers that Odysseus had travelled when he told them that he had looked on the face of Tyro. And to Tyro, moreover, the suitors had compared Penelope in Book ii. (120) to Tyro, and to Alcmene, who appears in the under-world soon after Tyro (xi. 266). Chloris (281) is not only the wife of Neleus and the mother of Nestor: through the beauty of her daughter Pero she is brought into connection with "the noble prophet" Melampus (291), and Melampus, we are to learn in Book xv. (225 ff.), is the ancestor of Theoclymenus, who inherits the family gift of second-sight and is destined to comfort the son of Odysseus with his prophecies. Only half the tale about Neleus, Pero, and Melampus is narrated here (xi. 287–297). The other half is told in Book xv. 215 ff., and with it is mentioned the quarrel that arose between Neleus and Melampus, and the consequent departure of Melampus to Argos. One day the great-grandson of Melampus, Theoclymenus, will be fleeing for his life from Argos through sandy Pylos, and he will not be able to take refuge with Nestor because of this feud between their families from old days. So when he finds Telemachus and his ship upon the beach he will beg to be taken on board,

[1] Wilamowitz, whose theory precludes him from finding the key, says that the choice of the figures appears quite accidental (*op. cit.*, p. 149).

for that is his only chance of escape. Thus strangely, the poet feels, can past and present be linked together. This intimate connection between xi. and xv. explains the fragmentary manner, otherwise so hard to understand, in which Melampus' story is alluded to in xi. It is meant to wait for its completion till xv. 225–240, a passage which fits this broken half exactly. And in the same place (xv. 244–247) the tale of Eriphyle, just touched on in xi. (326, 327), is taken up again, when we hear of her husband Amphiaraus, another descendant of Melampus and another prophet himself, who dies at Thebes because of his wife's treachery.

This thought of a woman's treachery suggests a note on the leading feature of this "Catalogue." The Heroines are all women who, either through their children or themselves, have left their mark upon the fortunes of the world for good or evil, and this fits supremely well with the spirit of the Odyssey, which like the Iliad, but even more than the Iliad, is instinct with the influence of women. Helen, Andromache, Hecuba, Briseis, are more than matched in the Odyssey by Helen, Penelope, Nausicaa, Arete, Circe, Calypso, and the old nurse. It is most fitting that Odysseus, whose life, at every turn, is bound up with a woman's will,[1] should be led into the past by the star-like faces of the Heroines. And in the background, dim but ever present, compared and contrasted with his own wife, there stands the figure of Clytemnestra. It is on her account as well as Helen's that Leda is chosen here (298), and she is given the title "wife of Tyndareus" just because it is Tyndareus, and not Zeus, who is the father of Clytemnestra. The parentage of Helen was too well known to need even an allusion; the name of Leda would be enough. Alcmene (266) is chosen not only because of the comparison with Penelope (ii. 120) but also because she is the mother of

[1] Note the words used by Odysseus himself of "*women's counsels*" in this very book, xi. 437–439.

Heracles, the mighty bowman, one of the only two men with whom Odysseus would not have dared to match himself in archery (viii. 224). (It is the bow of the other, Eurytus, that he has at home.) Epicaste (271), the wife and mother of Œdipus, is the type of all those women through whom, though not by whose desire, disaster comes upon themselves and upon their kin, and that again suggests from another point of view the situation and the danger of Penelope. And Iphimedeia (305) is the mother of the giants who defy the gods. And here we are meant to think, by likeness and by contrast, of another giant race, as arrogant, but not as fair, the race of the Cyclops. One of these also, Polyphemus, Odysseus' ancient foe, claimed to be sprung from Poseidon. On this point it should not be overlooked that, after Zeus, the only god who is accepted in this company for the divine father of heroes is just the stormy god of the sea, so long the enemy of Odysseus, but destined, as he has just learnt, to be his friend at death (xi. 121–136). It is almost as though the poet would have us feel that it is out of the embrace of the waters, terrible at once and beautiful, that the strongest races spring. And indeed he almost says it in so many words at the very outset, in the stately farewell speech of Poseidon to the bride whom he has seized (248–252):—

"Rejoice, O woman! in our love, and as the year comes round thou shalt bring forth glorious sons: for the bed of an Immortal is not barren. Cherish them, and nurse them, and bring them up to manhood. And now go home and hold thy peace and do not speak of it. But, behold, I am Poseidon, the shaker of the earth." Thus the great name is made to ring out with a kind of splendour that lifts the story up and away out of the region of amours into the region of mysteries.[1]

The peculiar method by which the general effect is gained in this Vision of the Women should be compared

[1] For some further points of detail, see Appendix D.

with the handling of the Games in Iliad xxiii. (see chap. viii.). In each case a profound and subtle connection with a larger whole is attained through the touch of the associations aroused in us, without one direct word on the poet's part, by name recalling name, incident incident, and character character.

After this scene, and almost as though deliberately to mark it, and let us brood on it a little while, on it and on the divine human tenderness of Anticleia that has just preceded it, the poet makes the one and the only break in the long narrative of Odysseus. The hero pauses, and we pause too, and feel the dead silence throughout the shadowy halls, as though we too were spellbound with the listeners who sit, motionless and awestruck, round the man that has been with Death, until Arete breaks the tension by her gracious words. Nothing could well do more to mark and heighten the effect of mystery than this pause. And it is done in the true epic manner: with no obtrusion of the personal feelings of the poet, no comment even, only a quiet statement that the listeners could not speak. Then, through the courteous dialogue that follows, we move from these phantoms of the far-distant past to the stately figures that come nearer our immediate theme, the kingly comrades with whom Odysseus fought side by side at Troy. The appearance of Agamemnon is the occasion for a full development of the Clytemnestra tale. This is given in such a way as to bring out to the full the horror of the final murder; the earlier accounts have all dwelt on the causes that led to it, but Agamemnon himself lingers with a fascinated memory over the details of that pitiful slaughter in the great hall amid the remnants of the feast. And this detailed description ought to flash into our minds later on, when we stand in another hall after another feast to watch another struggle for life and death, but this time one in which the parts are reversed and the right cause triumphs against the odds. It certainly flashes into the mind of

Odysseus when he finds himself alone on the shore at Ithaca, with only his wits and the counsel of the gods to help him (xiii. 383). Agamemnon himself draws the parallel and the contrast between Clytemnestra and Penelope, though he little knows how closely his words happen to fit the actual state of the case—an unconsciousness that increases their effect. But in these very words there is another element, an element which adds immensely to their life-likeness, but which only the greatest skill could have introduced here without blurring the tragic impression. For it is nothing more nor less than a comic element. The fussy changeable temperament of Agamemnon, always in extremes of confidence or depression, the nature we learnt to know so well in the Iliad, has set its stamp here also. Clytemnestra's treachery has darkened the world of women to him; no woman is to be trusted any more; and yet the impression of the faithful Penelope, whom he saw long ago as a young wife with her baby at her breast, is none the less ineffaceable. He has become the convinced woman-hater who yet cannot forget the good women he has known, and a smile is due to the utter and most natural confusion of his consequent advice to Odysseus:—

"Never be gentle to any woman, nor tell all that is in your heart even to your wife; there is no faith in womankind. But *your* wife is wise and faithful!" (xi. 441–445).

After Agamemnon appears Achilles, with Patroclus and Antilochus at his side. The memories of our Iliad are necessary for this passage. The three friends have met together at last; the two who were all in all to each other, and the third who brought to the one the news of the other's death. And Antilochus, we must not forget, is Nestor's son, the youngest comer into the world of shadows from that long glorious line that Poseidon begat when he took Tyro for his bride. And it was for Antilochus that we

saw his living brother weep, side by side with Telemachus in the home of Menelaus (Od. iv. 186–188). The long-distant past and the present, the living and the dead, they are linked together here. The love of family and friends—that, after all, is the never-failing note of the Nekuia. It is for tidings of his son that Agamemnon asks: it is the news of his son's renown that alone can comfort Achilles: it is the thought of his father's loneliness that adds the last pang to his grief. This is not only to strike the deepest chord in the Odyssey, it is not only to be in harmony with the strongest yearnings of Anticleia, Laertes, Odysseus himself, in harmony with the far echoes roused by the music of the Heroines, it serves to make the whole world of the shades more terrible and yet more peaceful, more dreadful in its separation from the living, and yet brought back near to us by the love that abides there. "Yea, though they may say the dead forget their dead, yet even in the grave I will remember my friend" (Il. xxii. 389, 390).

It is only the words of the Iliad that are fit comment on the Odyssey.

The loss of weight to the Odyssey if this Book were removed can hardly be over-estimated. From some aspects, indeed, it might be called the most epic of all the Odyssean books. For the typical epic always tends to express a complete view of the universe and man's place therein: the epic impulse is not really satisfied until it has set the pageant of man's history in relation to what was before his birth and what will be after his death.[1] So much is this the case that the great epics, widely as they may differ in other respects, have constantly agreed in bearing a philosophical stamp. The poem of Lucretius may here be classed with the "Æneid," with "Paradise Lost," with the "Divine Comedy."

The view of the universe put forward in the eleventh

[1] I owe my appreciation of this point to Mr. Roger Fry's lectures on "The Language of Art."

Odyssey is very terrible. Perhaps, indeed, that is the first and the most lasting of the many impressions it makes on us. Even the sweetness of the love with which it is charged cannot avail to annul this. We cannot read without a shudder the words of Achilles, reticent, stern, unforgettable, heavy with the empty horror of his stifled existence. In certain moods we even ask how any man could have endured the conception of a life that must end in this, how any poet could have chosen, for a background to his tale of love and action, a place so silent and so fearful. To ask these questions leads us, I think, to realise in some measure the force of the belief and the impulse that drove the writer forward. In later Greek literature that peculiar belief tends to pass away. Either the expectation of immortality fades out altogether, or it begins to take a glory upon itself. Other ideas come to the fore, the ideas of punishment and reward, the ideas of escape into a life more real than this. But for the poet of the Odyssey (and as I believe for the poet of the Iliad also) the dead live on for ever in a life which is no life. The agony a soul would feel that was full of love and exulted in action, if, while retaining consciousness, it was debarred from all action and all knowledge of the beloved living, this it is that gives the depth of pain to Achilles' cry (Od. xi.), to Patroclus' last farewell (Il. xxiii.). A conception so imaginative, so austere, and so pathetic, it is hard to believe was not also in great measure individual. Of course the creed must have been drawn largely from current beliefs, though sometimes it would appear to be designedly opposed to them;[1] but the precision of the system imagined, the passion of the emotion, do strongly suggest the work of one heart and mind. It is a mind that has brooded much and long over death and life and popular wisdom, over ghosts and

[1] *E.g.*, in the *denial* of forgetfulness after death (Il. xxii. 389, 390), in the doctrine that only the *unburied* dead can haunt the living (Il. xxiii. 75, 76; Od. xi. 71, 72).

dreams and visions, over the terrifying phenomena of dissolution and the apparent utter loss of power that it brings. It is a heart that cannot conceive the cessation of love, or the extinguishing of the desire for action. Out of all this comes a structure almost as definite as Dante's, and instinct with a feeling almost as intense.

CHAPTER XIV

THE RETURN OF ODYSSEUS

In Book xi. the emotion and excitement of the first half of the Odyssey reach their height. The waves of feeling that have been gathering all through the earlier Books break with a solemn thunder there. And then by degrees the surges die away. In xii., as it were, the force of the breaker spends itself, completes itself, and is ended. We are brought back gradually to a calmer mood, and in a sense to the point from which we started. For the tale of Odysseus ends as it began, with his sojourn on Calypso's island and his final escape (xii. fin.; vii. 241 ff.).

The subsidence of the emotion, the return to the original starting-point, is effected with masterly skill: xii. is graver in tone than ix., and yet similar; the adventures are more mysterious, more tragic than any of the early enterprises, and yet they are akin. The Sirens' island contains a fuller development of the theme that underlies the tale of the Lotus-eaters: the seizure of the crew by the monstrous Scylla recalls the perils of the Cyclops' cave, but outdoes them in horror. In the end the warning of Teiresias is sadly justified. The first part of his oracle has a gloomy fulfilment: the comrades of Odysseus are lost through their own weakness. But still when all is done we have learnt nothing more grievous about the present fate of Odysseus himself than we knew before. We understand now how it is that in spite of all his efforts his comrades have been lost: but when we met him first he was all alone. We have been excited, touched, awed. But we come back to peace,

and indeed to more, to comfort and to hope. For after all he has reached the friendly land of the Phæacians, and to-morrow he is to be taken home. There, it is true, he must begin another struggle, and the rest of Teiresias' prophecy is ringing in his ears. But the battle will be fought at home in his own land, and what triumph may we not hope for from the man who has been among the dead?

Thus we pass to the opening of the next great division in the poem, the tale of the Return itself, and the vengeance it involved. Book xiii. is essentially a Book that marks a fresh beginning, for everything in it is calculated to arouse, and nothing to satisfy, our interest.

One of the most amazing proposals about the supposed original Odyssey is to be found in Kirchhoff's idea[1] that, while it contained Teiresias' prophecy of trouble for Odysseus at home, it ended simply with the hero being laid down asleep by the Phæacians on the shore of Ithaca. The prophecy, Kirchhoff remarks serenely, need not disturb us, because Teiresias has also added that Odysseus will triumph in the end. On this principle, we might retort, there would be no need to disturb ourselves by reading any of the poem at all.

As a matter of fact the sleep, with his enemies so near, would seem almost too dangerous if it were not for the immediate appearance of Athena and her counsel that Odysseus should go forthwith to the faithful swineherd's hut, and there await Telemachus, in order to make their plans for the coming vengeance (xiii. 221 ff.). Thus the book is essentially a book of pause and transition, while the new forces are gathering strength for another and a final climax. The comparative quiet of its movement, combined with the underlying excitement—no startling action, but all the preparations for one—ought to be compared with the closely similar spirit and structure of Book i. And indeed

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 237, Notes to Od. xiii. 184.

the whole drift of this and the remaining Books—xiii. to xxiv.—the whole progress of the emotion, its rise and its fall, ought to be compared with the earlier half (i. to xii.). The growth up to a climax and the transition from climax to peace, which we noticed there, both are repeated here in a greatly heightened form. And this correspondence of rhythm and balance throughout, even though it may not be perceived at first by the intellect, is felt by the emotions, and helps to give the coherence of one symphonic movement to the whole poem.

Here, from Book xiii. and onwards, step by step, the action quickens, the interest grows, the characters expand, until just before the end there is a stupendous crash, and a mighty victory (Book xxii.). And then the force that showed itself in the struggle and won the victory completes its work and brings itself to rest in the calmer movement of xxiii. and xxiv.

And, as in Books i. to v., so here from xiii. to xv., it is Athena who bestirs herself to frame for father and son a line of action that will bring them into touch with one another. It is she who rouses Telemachus to return from Sparta (xv. init.); and once more we must repeat that her significance cannot be understood here if we think of her only as an external being, any more than it could be understood in Iliad i. It is because Kirchhoff and Wilamowitz insist on limiting her in this way that they miss all the subtle characterisation of the passage where Telemachus resolves to return. I have already tried to show that there is nothing unnatural in his lingering at Sparta in itself, but it is here that we may realise what he feels when his conscience tells him that, however natural it may be, it is none the less a mistake. For, to repeat it once again, the words of Athena may represent the ideas that come into a man's own mind. The specially divine element is to be found in the suddenness and appropriateness of the leading thought: it flashes into the lad's mind, "like an

inspiration," as we might say, that he must return at once, but the way the idea comes is all coloured by his temper at the moment. He has been lying awake thinking ceaselessly of his father, and now the whispers of Athena give to the life the sudden sense of what he ought to do, mixed with the reproaches of conscience and the exaggerated fears that would surge through the brain in such a sleepless night. Has he done more harm than good by coming? (xv. 10–12). Perhaps his mother has taken the fatal step, has married already and ceased to care even for her son (15–23): he must look to himself now, unless perhaps some trusted woman-servant can help him—here Eurycleia floats before his brain (24–27). Is not this precisely what we might have guessed Telemachus would feel sooner or later under the circumstances? But Kirchhoff and Wilamowitz only ask anxiously why Athena should tell such lies.[1] That Telemachus should kick his bedfellow to awaken him—Peisistratus has been sleeping with aggravating soundness all the time—that he should imagine for a moment they could start that very minute, and then that he should be quieted by his comrade's very sensible advice to wait till the morning, when he may take his departure in proper form—all this is in the same manner, combining keen humour with unfailing dignity.

The fact that Telemachus is more than a little uneasy about the length of time he has spent (to no particular account) in the home of Helen is one reason why he dislikes so much being catechised by his mother about his journey (xvii. 40 ff.). The critics say it is natural she should ask: so it is, but they omit to see it is also natural that he should not care to answer. He would have no reply (for he has not his father's ready tongue), if his mother asked him, as she would be sure to do, why he had stayed so long. So he will not speak at all until compelled by the injured tone Penelope adopts (xvii.

[1] Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, p. 93, *Telemachie und Odyssee.*

100 ff.). The scene has all the delicate mockery of a Jane Austen, combined with an epic massiveness. Then he gives her a singularly dry account, discreetly avoiding all mention of dates, and ending with the designedly vague statement, "When I had finished this I came away" (148).

From the middle of xvii. to the end of xxi. we are taken up with the long endurance of Odysseus in his own house, unknown, outraged, and in hourly peril, near to all he loves, yet unable to claim his own, watching his chance for the stroke that will decide the day. But, long as the passage is, we do not feel it either monotonous or discursive. And this is largely because of the skilful way in which new incidents that diversify are blended with a repetition and a reiteration that unites and consolidates. (See above, p. 146.) The effect of the repetition is particularly interesting and deserves further analysis here, especially in view of the objections the critics raise. It is in part achieved by the use of what are almost refrains, *e.g.* the constant recurrence of the wish, "If Odysseus were to come home!" or the boast, "He will never come home now." But incidents as well as words are repeated. Not only do the omens and warnings grow incessant: three several times the suitors hurl missiles at the unknown king, twice he is insulted by his own maid-servants, twice jeered at by Melanthus, twice discovered against his will and before it is safe that he should be known. And always the repetition far from weakening the effect greatly heightens it. Each fresh outrage increases our wonder how long the patience of Odysseus is to hold out. A single insult might have been passed over, but the perpetual succession is unendurable. Our amazement at the hero's unshakable self-control grows and deepens, and with it our sense that the suitors are filling up the measure of their iniquities. Antinous (xvii. 460 ff.), Eurymachus (xviii. 389 ff.), Ctesippus (xx. 288 ff.), all have gone too far now even to hope for mercy.

That in each case some even of the riotous company should protest emphasises the insolence of the deeds. Similarly with the wanton maid-servants; their execution at the end would seem impossibly ferocious to us (and we may hope, would have seemed so even to the listeners of that day), if it were not for the reiterated taunts of Melantho to the old defenceless beggar.[1]

In the thrilling scene of xix. 335 ff., when Eurycleia recognises Odysseus by the touch of the scar on his leg, half the excitement of the situation is lost if we do not realise that public discovery means death to her master. The hall is full of the disloyal maids who would go out and tell the suitors forthwith. And the nurse's intuition is almost too quick even for Odysseus' iron grip: another moment, and, if his hand had not been at her throat, everything would have been known. For the same reason Odysseus stops with a stern command Eurycleia's attempt to dilate on the wrong-doings of the handmaids. Suspicion would be aroused at once if they saw the old nurse in earnest consultation with the beggar.

In fact Odysseus is only just in time to retrieve the slip he had made when he had asked for his old nurse to attend on him, forgetting her swift penetration. He has no sooner made the request than he realises his mistake, but it is too late to draw back, and he can only swing round from the firelight and hope that the darkness will prevent her seeing the scar. Thus a breathless sense of danger mingles, or ought to mingle, with our throb of sympathy in Eurycleia's joy. That Penelope should not notice anything is exactly in keeping with her character. Penetration was never her strong point. Odysseus is in a beggar's garb, and she is always greatly influenced, as he remembers, by a person's

[1] The words "*yet a second time*" concerning Melantho's second insult (xix. 65), the wish of Athena that Odysseus *should bear still more* (xviii. 347, 348), the prophecy of the goatherd that *many a stool* would be flung at Odysseus (xvii. 231, 232), are further indications that the poet was quite aware what he was doing when he used repetition.

clothes (xix. 218 ff.; xxiii. 115, 116): just now, moreover, she has gone off into a pensive dream.

Not a flaw, one would have thought, could have been found by the most captious critic in this scene from first to last. But instead of saying grace for the meat that is set before us here, Wilamowitz proposes to destroy it by making the discovery of the scar an intentional prelude designed by Odysseus for the revelation of his identity.[1]

The same consciousness of danger in premature discovery increases the pathos of the scene with Argus. Odysseus dare not go up and pat him while Eumæus is there, for fear that the swineherd should see it all and say, "Why, the dog knows you!" It is, once more, the sense of danger in discovery, and the knowledge that he has been twice discovered already, that makes the dream of Odysseus in xx. (93 ff.) startle and thrill us as it does. He has lain down to sleep in the porch, the night before the final trial; restless, even he, with the knowledge of his perils. And then, in the early dawn, while he is near waking, the sound of his wife's weeping comes to him from her upper chamber and mingles with his dreams. He springs up, half in joy, half in fear. Wilamowitz recognises the beauty of the scene: how is it he can say it is lost in our Odyssey, and has no connection with what precedes?[1]

We come now to the struggle in the hall (Books xxi., xxii.). Here the total effect will be found, I believe, to depend largely on what has gone before, to such an extent indeed that in considering the question of authorship we are compelled to choose between two alternatives. Either the poet who wrote this scene wrote it with the bulk of the preceding cantos before him—and if so, it seems unnecessary to suppose him a different man—or else the later authors managed, without touching it, to improve it vastly in every point by the mere addition of their prefaces.

It is our previous knowledge of Odysseus, as I have

[1] *Op. cit.*, *Odysseus vor Penelope*, pp. 59, 65.

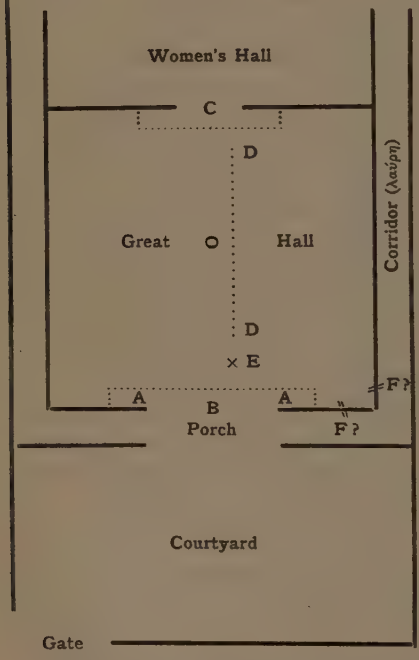
tried to show above, that gives half its power to the great scene when he reveals himself. But we have also, and we need to have, a wider knowledge than this. We know the forces on which he can count and the forces arrayed against him. Our intimate acquaintance with Telemachus, Eumæus, and the neatherd Philoetius assures us that his backers, though few, are of a mettle to give him good support. We know the suitors also both in their power and their weakness. We know their influence in the island, and how there is only one man left, Mentor, to stand by the right cause. We know the situation in the household: there is one woman, and one alone, on whom we can really rely, the old nurse Eurycleia: the maids are either treacherous or weak, and Penelope is the last person to look to for help in action. (Fortunately she is out of the way, sunk in a magic sleep upstairs.) Finally, the very length and mass of the preceding narrative enables us to feel that we are acquainted with all the powers that could be called in to aid one side or the other. So in a flash, as it were, we can estimate their relative strength when the last struggle begins. This is more important than may appear at first sight. For it is just this underlying knowledge, none the less potent for being half unconscious, that sharpens the excitement with which we watch every step of the fight. Instinctively and instantaneously we calculate, and to a nicety, the worth of each momentary gain as the advantage swings from one side to the other.

But to grasp the tactics of the fighting we must also have a plan of the hall in mind. Nor does the poet fail us here: the preceding Books have told us enough to make us understand all we need about the structure of the building, once we realise two cardinal points:

(1) The women's quarters are in the rear of the great hall, communicating with it by a doorway which can be shut on the inner side (the side of the women). In the previous Books the poet has indicated this position very

clearly, *e.g.* xvii. 505 ff., in connection with xvii. 339, 466. (See the note below, and Jebb's "Homer," note i., p. 180.)

(2) The *wooden* threshold (xvii. 339) and the great *stone* threshold (xvii. 30) are *both* at the great doorway opposite the women's quarters—the doorway, that is, between the great hall and the courtyard. The wooden threshold is to be regarded as part of the fittings of this stone threshold, superposed upon it much in the fashion of a carpet.[1] (See the accompanying map.)



A, A. Great Threshold. It is of stone with wooden fittings, and thus can be referred to *either* as the λᾶινος οὐδός or the *μέλινος* οὐδός.

B. Great Doorway.

C. Doorway into the Women's Hall.

D, D. Line of Axes.

E. Seat of Odysseus.

F?, F?. Raised Postern (*ὀρσοθύρη*), *either* in the same wall as the Great Doorway *or* in the wall at right angles to it.

[1] Students who are familiar with Professor J. H. Myres' article "On the Plan of the Homeric Home" (J. H. S., xx. 1900), will observe that I agree with one half of his theory and not with the other. I welcome the recognition that both stone and wooden threshold belong to the same doorway, but Professor Myres seems to me to cause entirely needless difficulty by placing the women's hall in front of and opposite to the men's hall, right across the courtyard. Jebb's first argument for the position of the women's hall

With these points in mind we can follow Odysseus' plan. It is essential for him to prevent a rescue being led by the islanders. As things are, he may just manage to get the better of the suitors, but the task would be hopeless if the latter were reinforced. And reinforced they would be if their need were discovered. Odysseus knows this, for he has learnt the situation from his son (xvi. 95 ff., 235 ff.). Therefore no appeal for help, if he can prevent it, must reach the town. Thus, before the fight begins, he sees to it that the maids, good and bad alike, are locked into their quarters behind the hall (xxi. 235–239). To reach the city the treacherous maids would have to rush through the fighting men,[1] face to face with Odysseus himself, having first beaten down the resistance of Eurycleia and the honest women. The shutting of the door at this inner end of the hall serves another purpose also: it is there to block the suitors if they should turn to fly.[2]

At the other end of the hall, close to the open doorway and the great threshold, Odysseus is posted by Telemachus on his arrival (xx. 257–259). He takes this position,

appears to me quite untouched by Professor Myres, and quite conclusive. Odysseus when invited to leave his first place near the great doorway in order to visit Penelope in the women's hall, replies that he is afraid of the throng of riotous suitors (xvii. 564). One of them had attacked him before when he was going up the hall (or *down the hall* in the Homeric phrase), *i.e.* towards the inner end. But on Professor Myres' theory, Odysseus "would only have had to turn his back upon the suitors and leave the hall" (Jebb, "Homer," p. 182).

[1] That is, assuming that there was no second door to the women's hall, leading into the corridor. I think this assumption justified, because Odysseus would have known of such a door if it had existed, and therefore would not have made the answer he did to Eumæus (xvii. 564 ff.) about the risk of passing the suitors on the way to Penelope's room. (See the preceding note.) But even if there was such a door, the women, in order to get out of the palace, would have to dash through the porch, and so risk an encounter with Odysseus at the great doorway, a risk which even Melanthius does not dare to run.

[2] Myres (*J. H. S.*, vol. cit.) suggests that they might break down the door, but as it is closed on the inner side (see xxii. 394), this would take a considerable time, and meanwhile their enemies would spear them in the back.

ostensibly because it is a lowly place—the beggar's seat was usually at the threshold—but really because it suits his plan for the coming battle. He can spring at once to the doorway after he has shot his arrow through the long line of the axes, and from thence both guard the egress and take his aim at every man. He does not try to have the great doors closed at his back, partly because the attempt would arouse suspicion, partly because he may need turning-room for himself and his supporters in the fight.[1] But just before the critical moment he sends the neatherd Philoetius to make the outer gate of the courtyard fast (xxi. 240–241, 388–392). It is only when we understand the relation between the suitors and the islanders that we can fully appreciate the reason for this. Odysseus can hardly do it simply in order to block the path of the suitors, because if once they got past him at the doorway of the hall and out into the courtyard, it would be easy enough for them to open the outer gate. (It opens, of course, from the inner side.) The real reason is to prevent any casual passer-by from entering the courtyard and so hearing the uproar, discovering the truth, and giving the alarm to the sympathisers in Ithaca.

Meanwhile Telemachus, in order to avoid suspicion, remains at his place of honour near the centre of the hall[2]

[1] Jebb (*J. H. S.*, vii.) thinks that the doors are shut, because of xxii. 258, which speaks of a spear from the suitors striking on the door. But it might well have struck the open door *aslant*, aimed, as it is, with an inaccurate aim, at men standing in the doorway.

[2] The last two lines of xxi., *as they stand with the ordinary reading*, are opposed to this, for they imply that Telemachus came to his father's side just before the latter sprang to the threshold (xxi. 433, 434)—

ἀμφὶ δὲ χρεῖα φίλην βάλεν ἔγχεϊ, ἄγχι δ' ἄρ' αὐτοῦ
πὰρ θρόνον ἑστήκει κεκορυθμένος αἴθοπι χαλκῷ.

If κεκορυθμένος is right, the lines must be understood to mean: "Telemachus took his spear in his hand and stood beside his father's chair, his bronze helmet flashing on his head." But (1) Telemachus is *not* wearing a helmet (see xxii. 111). (2) Later on he has to *run* to reach his father (xxii. 99). (3) The translation has to neglect entirely the pluperfect sense of ἑστήκει, "*had* been standing." I make no doubt that the proposed correction to κεκορυθμένον (*sc.* ἔγχος) is right, and that the lines mean: "Telemachus took his spear in his hand; it had been resting against his chair, the bronze point sparkling in the

(xxi. fin.), but he puts on his sword and takes his spear in his hand, ready to dash to his father's side at the right moment, as he does when the suitors recover from their first paralysis of alarm (xxii. 91 ff.).

As for Eumæus and the neatherd, I think we are meant to gather that they remain close to the great doorway, one on each side of Odysseus, from the moment he gets the bow into his hands. The neatherd would hardly go farther up the hall than he could help when he returns from closing the courtyard-gate: it would be rash in view of the critical situation, and unbecoming on his part as a humble man-servant. Eumæus has brought the bow down the hall, as we say—or *up* the hall, as the Greeks say (xxi. 378)—given it to his master, and taken his stand beside him (379). It is not said that he leaves him again. It is true he calls out Eurycleia from the women's quarters at the inner end (380) in order to bid her shut the women's door, but, as this door is still open, she could easily hear him calling[1] from the lower end of the hall, and come to him there for the message. No doubt Eumæus gives her the order itself in a low voice (381–385); and she, showing her usual discretion, does his bidding without a word (386, 387; *cp.* her similar action, xix. 29, 30).

When the fight itself begins Eumæus, we are expressly told, is posted beside a certain small doorway of which we have not yet heard (xxii. 126–130). There has been much discussion about its position, but it appears to me that the simplest translation of the Greek gives the essential features with sufficient clearness. The name, "raised-door" (ὀρσοθύρη) suggests that it is a postern in the wall, raised above the

light." This meaning of κεκορυθμένον, "*tipped*," can be paralleled by Iliad xi. 43. But as this use is rare, it would be natural for a scribe who was not thinking of the remoter context to corrupt it into κεκορυθμένος, "helmeted," taking it as referring to Telemachus.

[1] I think too we are meant to conceive the suitors as quieter than usual, half-amused as they are at the airs of Telemachus, half-alarmed at the sight of the bow in the beggar's hands.

level of the floor; but the important point to note is that it is quite close to the great doorway into the court (xxii. 136, 137), at the extreme limit of the threshold (127). (I follow most scholars in presuming that the great threshold extends some way within the hall on either side of the actual door-space.) The purpose that this postern served would be clear to every Homeric listener, and ought to be clear to us, for we have a similar contrivance nowadays in most massive gates, as many College courts show. It is to allow individuals to pass singly in and out of the building after the great doors have been shut (for safety or at night) without the trouble and risk of opening them.[1] Whether the postern is actually in the same wall as the great doorway or in the long wall at right angles to it is not clear,[2] but in any case it must be in the adjacent corner, as a glance at the plan will show. This corner position explains the statement, "there was only one way up to it" (130). Thus one man, if he were valiant, could hold it against a superior force, as Melanthius is not slow to perceive[3] (138), more particularly as the attacking party would run the risk in flank and rear of the spears from Odysseus, Telemachus, and Philoetius. Even if the passage were forced the others could swing round through the great doorway and cut them down before they reached the court. "The door into the courtyard is dreadfully close" (136, 137).

I have spent much time on this small matter of the postern because, small as it is, it is very important. The

[1] Merry makes a similar suggestion. But he puts the postern at the inner end of the hall: which makes the tactics of Odysseus exceedingly puzzling.

[2] It gives access to a corridor, presumably running down the long side of the hall and opening into the porch (xxii. 128, ἦν ὁδὸς ἐς λαύρην). This rather suggests that it was in the wall at right angles. The phrase ἀκρότατον δὲ παρ' οὐδόν, "alongside the very end of the threshold," would be compatible with either position, but rather suggests the other.

[3] It is possible, however, but I think less natural and effective, to suppose that Melanthius is referring, not to Eumæus, but to Odysseus.

incident takes up barely a dozen lines (126–138), but I would invite any one who doubts its effectiveness to try the experiment of translating the whole scene of the fight, first without it and then with it, and afterwards comparing the results. He will find a really surprising difference in the vitality of the whole, a difference that will make him realise afresh Homer's unrivalled instinct as a story-teller. For in these dozen lines several things are gained. Our excitement is increased, since at first we fear that the suitors may force the postern, reach the city, and raise a rescue. In that case, as we know, and as they know, Odysseus would never draw bow again (132–134). Our sense of actuality is heightened by learning these fresh details about the building and the posting of the men. Above all we delight in the important part Eumæus takes in the struggle. He is chosen for a position worthy of himself, and he holds it worthily. Even the insolent Melanthius and the haughty suitors have to admit him a doughty champion. The time has gone by when Melanthius could jeer at him and the suitors browbeat him as they chose (xvii.–xxi. *passim*).

The incident of the postern leads straight to the daring exploit of Melanthius getting out of the hall by what are called the ῥῶγες and reaching the storehouse to fetch armour for the suitors, who have been caught weaponless (xxii. 142–199). The meaning of the ῥῶγες would have been plain to the poet's listeners, but it is obscure to us, for the word does not recur in classical Greek. But the context suggests very strongly:

(1) That they were outlets of some kind or other, but outlets not usually employed for exit.

(2) That access to them was not by the postern. For Melanthius rejects the idea of forcing this (136).

(3) That they were above the level of the floor. For Melanthius goes *up* by them (142, 143).

(4) That their position was such that he could get in

and out by them and hand the armour to the suitors without Odysseus and his men seeing at first how it was done (150–166).

These conditions would be satisfied if we might suppose that the hall was "lighted by vertical openings in the upper parts of the side walls," as J. Fergusson believed was the case with the hall at Tiryns (Jebb, "Homer," p. 184; *Tiryns*, p. 218). If these openings or "lights" were about 6 feet from the ground Melanthius could easily scramble out at the inner end of the crowded hall without being observed by the fighters at the other extremity.

In any case, however, it is plain that the exploit is daring, and its success most dangerous for Odysseus: so that here again the interest is heightened not only by varying the fortunes of the fight, but by showing us men we know acting in a way we see to be like themselves. The struggle is not between figure-heads, but between men whom we understand. Quick-witted and audacious as we know Melanthius to be, accustomed to do the errands of the suitors about the palace (xvii. 256, 257; xx. 175, 176), he guesses at once where the weapons are, sees that the best chance for his masters lies in getting them back if he can, and runs any risk to do it. And he succeeds in part, just because Telemachus with his usual impulsive heedlessness has forgotten to shut the storehouse door behind him, as he confesses with an ingenuousness equally characteristic (xxii. 154–156). The savage vengeance taken on Melanthius by the two herdsmen is only tolerable, it may be added, if we remember the repeated outrages he had put upon both Eumæus and the king (xvii. 212 ff.; xx. 177 ff.).

The final scene of the contest is marked, as it is marked so often in Homer, by the appearance of a divinity. Athena, who had initiated the first demand for Nemesis in the heart of the son, comes down to stand beside the father in his last effort to achieve it. And, as before, so now, she takes the shape of Mentor. Odysseus himself, having had the

outer gates closed on purpose to prevent an entry, divines at once that it is the goddess in disguise, but the suitors see before them the only man in the island whom they had reason to fear. Hence the fierceness of their threats against him, and the leap of their exultation when the figure disappears as mysteriously as it came. Odysseus and his three "stand alone at the door" (xxii. 250). But the ranks of the suitors are thinning fast, their best men are gone (244–246), their last efforts are foiled, their last spears flung in vain (255–280), the final panic seizes them (297), and all is at an end (309).

These imperfect comments may at least indicate how closely-knit is the structure of this great scene, and how closely bound to what precedes it.

The beautiful passage of recognition between husband and wife that follows (xxiii. 1–296) is not as a rule challenged in itself, even by those who would shift it from its present position to a time before the final struggle, a change which seems to me not only quite uncalled-for, but one that would destroy the tender charm of it as the crown and reward of the accomplished labour.[1] I have already said what I could about the subtle drawing shown here in the action of husband, wife, and son, a drawing which I think can only be appreciated when we have the rest of the poem to throw full light upon their characters.

But the close of xxiii. (from l. 297 onwards[2]) and the whole of xxiv. are rejected, almost universally, by the separatist school, and indeed by many critics who could not be called separatist. And yet on the face of it it seems a strange criticism that desires the omission of xxiv.

[1] For instance, the silence of Odysseus at their meeting as he waits for his wife to speak to him (xxiii. 90–92) gains greatly in dignity and in poignancy when we know that he has just gone through a terrific struggle to set her free from all her perils.

[2] But I agree with most critics that ll. 300–343 are interpolated, and possibly also ll. 297–299; which may account in part for the assertion of the Alexandrine commentators that the Odyssey ends at 296.

To cut it away means to run counter to every canon of artistic emotion, to the most marked characteristics of Greek art, and to countless small allusions throughout the poem. This for the sake of objections like the following:—

I. "It is contrary to the Homeric view that the souls of men *unburied* should find their way to Hades" (Merry, notes, *ad loc.*).

But the souls of the unburied suitors only find their way *to the asphodel meadow*, not across the Styx, and this is perfectly consistent with Odyssey xi. and Iliad xxiii., indeed markedly so (see above, chap. xiii.).

II. "The dialogue between Achilles and Agamemnon is out of place."

Perhaps, but this passage (xxiv. 23–101) can be cut out without affecting the rest—not even involving the alteration of one line.

III. "Hermes is not called 'Kyllenian' elsewhere in Homer, nor given the office of escorting the dead."

But this proves nothing. The most it can suggest is the activity of the mythopœic faculty in Homer. It is rather irritating to observe that while the similarity of Hermes' functions in the Odyssey at large and in Iliad xxiv. is made one great reason for separating the latter from the rest of the Iliad, the appearance of a new trait in his character here should be arbitrarily excised as "late."

IV. "Kephallenian" is said to imply *all* the subjects of Odysseus in this Book (355, 378, 429), while elsewhere (except for Iliad ii. 631) it is used only for those who dwelt outside Ithaca.

Now if so, the double sense must have been quite intelligible to the hearers, just as the double sense of "Britons" for (*a*) all white subjects of the British Empire, and for (*b*) the historical Celtic people, is quite intelligible to us. But if this double sense *was* intelligible to the

hearers, there is no reason whatever why it should not have been so to one and the same poet, and the word used by him just as "Briton" is used by us. I make no doubt this is the right explanation, but I may add that it is perfectly possible that the limited sense of "Kephallenian" is the right one in all three of our present passages, and in the first it is practically certain.

V. Line 535: *θεᾶς ὅπα φωνησάσης.* Said by Merry to be "quite unHomeric" and "modelled on a misconception of *ξυνέηκε θεᾶς ὅπα φωνησάσης* (Il. ii. 182), where *ὅπα* is governed by *ξυνέηκε*." But how does Merry know *ὅπα is* governed by *ξυνέηκε*? In the very same book of the Iliad, Book ii. 26, 63, we have *ξυνίημι* governing the genitive of the *person heard* (*ἔμεθεν ξύνες*), and Merry admits that the phrase in the Odyssey *might* be a "*σχῆμα ἐτυμολογικόν*," namely = *φωνὴν φωνησάσης.*

Let us turn from such unreal difficulties to a consideration of the loss for the imagination if xxiv. is cut away. We are to end with an abrupt climax, truncated as in a modern play, with no space either to complete itself or satisfy us. The profound longing that xi. has raised in our hearts for the meeting between father and son must be left unappeased, a longing that Eumæus and Athena have also done their best to stimulate (xv. 353 ff.; i. 188 ff.). We are to go away with the impression of the old man's desolate life on the distant farm, where he stays year in year out, creeping round his vineyard, eating out his heart for his son. We are never to be soothed and charmed by the tender playfulness of that other vineyard scene where the son makes himself known at last by telling over the trees that his father gave him years and years ago when he was a little lad. Surely it is only a taste for the frigid dignities of the supposed "grand style" that could find this scene common and low in its handling; surely the reference to the physical sensation of coming tears which some critics find so unseemly is only another instance of

the poet's intensely human observation. And it is this scene which makes us understand in a flash why Laertes chose that place of all others and clung to it. Here at least he could dream himself back to the days when he had his boy with him. Again it is in xxiv. and xxiv. alone that we see the authority of Odysseus firmly established once more over his own people. But more than half our indignation with the suitors is based (as I have tried to show above) on the conviction what lawlessness like theirs means and leads to in the land. Unless we hear of the restoration of order throughout the country we should feel, and feel rightly, that the work of Odysseus was only half done, that he only half deserved the name of king. The early Books had discovered to us the demoralisation and the apathy of the islanders, the cessation of free speech and free assembly under the aggressive domination of the suitors and their following. The rightful king had disappeared, and all was in disorder. A brave attempt had been made by Telemachus and Mentor to restore the right, but it was foiled by a bold stroke from the dominant powers. Now the scene swings round. Once more there is an assembly, but now it is the suitors that have disappeared, and it is their kinsfolk who must make the effort to regain their place. And now it is the lawful ruler who strikes the decisive stroke. And once more there is a council in heaven, but this time for peace and not for war, and once more in the likeness of Mentor Athena comes upon the scene, but this time it is not to rouse the cry for vengeance; it is, as in the Eumenides, to bring about reconciliation. The beginning of an inextinguishable vendetta is crushed, and the Odyssey ends in a calm as complete and satisfying as the struggle had been exciting and prolonged. Nor are we surprised at the ease with which order is restored at Athena's word, for the account of the assembly just before has made it plain that the majority of the people are quite willing to be on the

side of law and order, only they have been carried away by the fiery eloquence of Antinous' father. (He has the significant name of "Fairspeech": *Eupeithes*.) It is he who leads the last attack, and when the father of Odysseus slays him we feel that the head and front of the revolt has gone.

Book xxiv. not only corresponds with and completes the earlier Books, it answers the central Book of the Nekuia with high impressiveness. To the world of shades where Odysseus went, it is now the turn of his enemies to go. In the asphodel meadow where he waited they wait also, and one of the first heroes they meet is Agamemnon. There, and for the last time, the tale of Ægisthus and Clytemnestra comes before us, and the last words of Agamemnon are weighty with a sense of the difference between good women and bad. The solemnity of the meeting not only impresses us with a sense of the weight of the final Nemesis—is has another result that is hard to put into words, but essential to the total imaginative effect. In a sense it leaves us at peace with the suitors. They have paid the price, and gone out into the land of mystery to which all men go. There is thus a kind of dignity round their fall that recalls the dignity enwrapping the frivolous Elpenor in xi. It does not seem an ignoble company after all that go forth, led by Hermes, "past the stream of Ocean and the shining rocks and the gates of the sun and the land of dreams." They have had their day and are gone to their own place where other roysterers have gone, and heroes and kings with them.

It would not be well to take our leave of the Odyssey without dwelling a little on the prophecy that the hero is to make one more journey, and to meet a mysterious death, peaceful and strange, coming to him out of the sea, in the days when he shall be old and worn. This prophecy, delivered in the central Book of the poem (xi. 119–137), is repeated at the close (xxiii. 266–284), and

the repetition is full of significance. For the typical epic, though it must have a close, does not have an end: the epic poet sees long vistas "ahead of himself," ahead of every event, even the last in his actual song. There is a genuine difference here between epic and drama, although no doubt rather one of degree than of kind. It is a difference of emphasis, but the emphasis is very differently distributed. The great dramas have a great background, it is true, but when the curtain falls we feel that the song is over, that this phase of life is finished and done with, and it was with this phase we were concerned. Lear and his daughters are all dead, Hamlet is gone, Macbeth and his wife have drunk the cup of punishment to the dregs. But the true epic is concerned above all with the unceasing onward drift of life itself, and instinctively the supreme epic poets close their work in such a way as to leave us with this vivid sense of *going-on*. "The world was all before them"—that is almost the last line of "Paradise Lost." Indeed Milton, Virgil, Dante, are so charged with this sense that they steep their work in actual grand prophecy concerning the whole fate of the known world. The Homeric method is simpler, less tremendous perhaps, but the impulse is the same. "For eleven days we would bewail him, and on the twelfth day we will fight, if so we must"—those are Priam's last words to Achilles (Il. xxiv. 664–667), and we know right well there is to be a stubborn fight. Achilles himself is to perish, and many a valiant man is ready to die for Troy (xxi. 586). Though the mighty Hector has fallen, his countrymen will fight for their country still, even though it be in vain. They will not give it up without a struggle, as Achilles had fancied for a moment that they might (xxii. 383). To drive this conviction home to us is the purport of the scene in the twenty-first Book (xxi. 545 ff.), where Agenor waits outside the walls to face Achilles, just as Hector himself waits a little later on. The curious likeness

between the two scenes has a distinct effect upon us, the effect of opening our eyes to what is to come. Hector has fellow-citizens like himself, who will carry on his work.

One might almost say it would be no bad test for an epic, that it should inevitably suggest another tale, as so many epics have actually done. It is impossible to put down the Odyssey without being haunted by that last vision of the adventure in old-age that still waits for Odysseus. All poets have been ready to feel the spell of this, and thus it comes about that among the gifts we owe to Homer are to be reckoned the poem of Tennyson, and its glorious model, the canto in Dante's "Inferno."

CHAPTER XV

THE ARMOUR

One of the minor arguments for a minute working-over of the original Iliad—an argument which I have not yet discussed—is based upon the supposed confusion and incoherence in the references to the armour. It is held that such obscurity can only be explained on the theory that the later poets and editors are handling a stock of descriptions about a bygone type of armature which they do not fully understand, while at the same time they are introducing new and inconsistent details of their own. I must now attempt to show that there is no need for this peculiar theory.

The Shield

As regards the shield, it appears to me that all the asserted difficulties vanish once we conceive the poets to assume the existence of more than one type. Such a conception is not only simple, it is actually suggested both by analogy and by the evidence of the monuments. We know that elsewhere, during most changes of fashion, there is a period, long or short, in which both the old and the new types exist at once side by side. We know that in the Ægæan basin one type of shield did give way to another type; and almost every theory about the Homeric poems assumes that part of them at least were produced during the period when the change took place.[1]

[1] It is obvious that in important respects the theory I suggest coincides with the view developed by A. Lang in "Homer and his Age," a book to which I owe much.

The fact (for fact I believe it to be) that the poets are thinking sometimes of one kind of shield and sometimes of another—the different kinds being sufficiently familiar to them and to their audience—would explain, among other things, why there has been such controversy between scholars, equally able, over the one especial type of shield each school takes to be indicated. For each can claim some evidence as conclusive on their side.

I conceive, then, that our first poet, our original "Homer," followed by his successors, assumed the use of at least two types of shield: (1) a long bulging shield like the Mycenæan (see Fig. 1), and (2) a large circular shield, comparatively flat. These great shields are borne by the great heroes in their full panoply. There are also indications of lighter defences, such as the λαισήια of Iliad v. 453 and xii. 426, and the bucklers in x. (presumably small, such as those of classical Greece), that Odysseus and Diomede can carry with them when they ride. Such bucklers, I suspect, were already coming into use when the poets wrote, but were not considered suitable for the mighty warriors of the past. There would be nothing surprising if it should turn out that all three kinds of shield were in constant use at the same time. As a matter of fact we do find on a vase of the Dipylon style three distinct shapes of shield. (See Reichel, *Homerische Waffen*, 1901, Fig. 25, also reproduced in A. Lang, "Homer and his Age," p. 131; and cp. *J. H. S.*, vol. xiii. pp. 21–24). In any case it is natural to suppose that the poets who are singing of heroes in the golden past would keep as many of the old customs as possible to the fore, even though these customs might be rapidly dying out. This supposition need not be pushed so far as to involve any pedantic archæologising on the poet's part.

There are distinct signs that in spite of this affection for the past the Mycenæan shield is thought of as rare.

Of all the instances claimed as Mycenæan that have

FIG. 1.—MYCENÆAN SHIELDS

(*Reproduced from Dr. Leaf's "Iliad."* Messrs. MACMILLAN)

been collected by Reichel and his followers, there are only three that are undeniable: the shields of Ajax, of Hector, and of Periphetes. The last man, by the way, is expressly said to be from Mycenæ (Il. xv. 638 ff.). As he turns to fly he trips "on the rim of the long shield reaching to his feet, which it was his custom to bear" (xv. 645, 646):

> *στρεφθεὶς γὰρ μετόπισθεν ἐν ἀσπίδος ἄντυγι πάλτο,*
> *τὴν αὐτὸς φορέεσκε ποδηνεκέ', ἔρκος ἀκόντων.*

This, by the way, seems to be the only place where the term *ποδηνεκής*, "reaching to the feet," is used of the shield, and the turn of the phrase does suggest that it was not every man's custom to carry a shield of such a kind. It certainly proved the bane of Periphetes on this occasion.

When the shields are considered *en masse* they are called "well-rounded," *εὐκύκλοι* (v. 453; xii. 426; xiii. 715; xiv. 428). The formation of a shield-wall in xiii. 130 is far easier to understand if we suppose the flat shield, where rim could conveniently overlap rim, than if we imagine the bulging type. A completely circular form is naturally implied by the frequent epithet *πάντοσ' ἴσην*, lit. "even in every direction," though it is, no doubt, just possible that the words might only mean "perfectly balanced."

The term *ἀμφιβρότη*, "man-encompassing," seems, it may be admitted, at first sight more suited to the great curve of the Mycenæan shield that could enclose so much of the figure. But after all, the word only *means* "on both sides of a man"; and I suggest that it may have been applied to the large round shield, just to lay stress upon its size, and so distinguish the panoply of the old heroes from the lesser shields of lesser men. It is worth remarking that the term is not, in fact, used for the shields of Hector, Ajax, or Periphetes.

The adjective *ὀμφαλοέσσα*, "having a boss (or bosses)," might be applied, so far as we can see, to either kind of shield; and for circular shield as for oblong there might be

one boss or there might be several, and their size might be large or small.

Mycenæan shield and round shield alike, both being very large, are slung from baldrics which pass over the breast and one shoulder, right shoulder or left, I take it, according to choice. Ajax apparently wears the baldric on the left (Il. xvi. 106, 107), Diomede on the right (Il. v. 98, 798). Further, it seems most natural to suppose that all the shields had bars (*κάνονες*) on the inner side, which could serve as hand-grips on occasion; but as the word is used only twice in this connection (viii. 193; xiii. 407), it would be rash to say more.

What follows will, I hope, help to show how solid is the poetic realisation of the necessary detail, always in the work of the first poet, and usually in the work of his successors.

Ajax uses the long shield: and Ajax is just the man, physically strong and intellectually obstinate, who would stick to the ancient, cumbrous, but, when skilfully used, doubtless most reliable defence. Perhaps this is one reason why he (alone of the great chiefs except Idomeneus) is never wounded. It is his shield that is said to be like a tower, his, and it would appear, his alone (xi. 485; xvii. 128, repeated also for Ajax, by a later poet, vii. 219). The metaphor, it has been noticed, plainly suggests the semi-cylindrical form among the different Mycenæan shapes. And Ajax is not only strong, but agile and most skilful. When both his hands are occupied in fighting, as they are with the huge ship's pole in xv. (677 ff.), he understands how "to steer his dry cow" [1] by the mere swing, twist, and thrust of his shoulder. It is not surprising that his shoulder should feel the strain (xvi. 106 ff., his *shoulder*, note, not his *arm*); and yet his enemies cannot "shake the shield from its place round him" ("from covering his body," Monro, *ad loc.*). Even the later poets never seem to forget this

[1] Professor Murray's translation of Hector's phrase (vii. 237). See "The Rise of the Greek Epic," p. 139.

"tower-like" shield of Ajax. He is never described as wearing the corslet: in fact the passage quoted by Reichel is clearly against it (Il. xiv. 404 ff.). Hector's spear is stopped from piercing the breast of Ajax, not by any corslet, but by the two baldrics he is wearing. The passage quoted by Lang on the other side is not conclusive (Il. vii. 193, 207). For there "all the armour" that Ajax is said to put on need only include helmet, greaves, sword, and shield. I suspect Ajax would have despised the corslet, as only really needed by those who could not manage the "tower." Thus, having no corslet to keep in place (see below, pp. 202 ff.), he can spare his belt on the battlefield for a gift to Hector (vii. 305).

Every one knows the vivid little picture of the moment in vi. (116 ff.) when Hector, turning to leave the field, had slung his shield behind him, and as he stalked away the black rim of the hides tapped against his heels. Hector's use of the heavy Mycenæan defence helps to explain his action at the repulse from the ships in xvi. At first (358–363), before the repulse has become a rout, he stands back a little from the others, "his shoulders wrapped in the ox-hide shield," where, still facing the foe, he can escape the shower of darts and the terrible spear of Ajax, and yet help his own friends himself by a timely cast. But the moment the rout sweeps over him from the ships it needs better fighting than his to swing round the great oblong for a guard on every side against the enemies who now encompass him. He can hardly be blamed for taking to his chariot then (367). Again, in xii., he does not attempt to scale the wall as Sarpedon does, but finds it better tactics to stride right up to the gates and stand there, his body well protected, coolly taking aim with the enormous stone.[1]

[1] Hector's shield is called *παντόσ' εἴση* in xi. 61 and xiii. 803. But I do not believe these passages belong to the Original, nor that the later poets always trouble about their detail being consistent with the first. Of course when Hector puts on the armour of Achilles he gives up his long shield for the round one of the Greek. (See below on the other shield of Achilles.)

Sarpedon's shield, on the other hand, though less efficient as a stationary defence, is of a more manageable kind: and this, as I have suggested, is one reason why it is he and not Hector who actually climbs the wall. On a natural interpretation the lines describing Sarpedon's shield would certainly be taken to mean that it was round, comparatively flat, and stiffened by golden rods sewn on the inner side, radiating from centre to circumference in a ring, a very workmanlike device if the round shield was big.[1] When Sarpedon gets his hold on the wall and Ajax and Teucer attack him together (xii. 400 ff.), Teucer's arrow strikes the baldric on his breast at the same moment that Ajax smites his shield. This coincidence is very hard to imagine if we think of the curved body-covering Mycenæan shield, the genuine "bulwark against the arrows." But with a large round shield the position is clear. Sarpedon's shield is expressly called *ἀμφιβρότη* (402): that is to say (as explained above), it extends on either side of him, so that Ajax even at close quarters cannot get past it with his spear: but it is not curved, and therefore Teucer, a little on the flank, finds a clear passage for the arrow sideways to his breast.[2]

Although I agree that the description of the shield of Agamemnon in xi. 32–37 is by a later poet, I cannot think that it presents any real difficulty. I imagine Agamemnon's shield to be of the round type, showing ten concentric bronze rings, with twenty bosses of tin along one of the larger circles, and a single boss in the centre (presumably larger) of dark enamel. On this central boss there is a Gorgon's head "crowning" the shield, and on either side of the head a face of Fear and a face of Panic. There is no difficulty in supposing that the Gorgon's head is figured in the enamel

[1] xii. 294–297. *ἀσπίδα . . . πάντοσ' ἐΐσην, | καλὴν χαλκείην ἐξήλατον, ἣν ἄρα χαλκεὺς | ἤλασεν, ἔντοσθεν δὲ βοείας ῥάψε θαμειὰς | χυσείης ῥάβδοισι διηνεκέσιν περὶ κύκλον.*

[2] For the relation between these great shields and the prevalence of the bow see A. Lang, "Homer and his Age," p. 134.

on the boss. In the British Museum there is a Roman shield-boss with figures engraved on it, and the effect is very good.[1] This boss is not a mere knob, but spreads out into a flat border, by which it was nailed to the shield. Both knob and border are engraved. There may well have been a similar border round the boss on Agamemnon's shield; and the faces of Fear and Panic may have been inlaid either on it or on the shield itself.

Achilles' shield I take to be round also, for I cannot see that later criticism has in any way affected Brunn's argument for five concentric rings formed by the five layers of which the poet speaks, extending one beneath the other, the topmost layer being the smallest and forming the centre (Il. xviii. 478 ff.). "The stream of Ocean along the outermost rim" (607 ff.) plainly demands the round shape, and there is plainly some significance for the decoration in the mention of the five layers at the outset, corresponding, as they do, to the five types of subject chosen by Hephæstus. (I take it the five layers are of hide and the metal plating covers all.) When Brunn shows,[2] from the Iliad (xx. 274–276), and from Aristides (Panathen, i. p. 159), that shields were actually formed in this way, it seems to me we have nothing more to do in the main than to accept his results and be thankful. For convenience of reference I give a diagram based on his, but embodying one suggestion of Professor E. Gardner's ("Handbook of Greek Sculpture," p. 71; Brunn, "Kunstgeschichte," Fig. 58). The general arrangement of the pictures follows the sequence of the poet's account, which it is reasonable to assume must be unbroken: we are made to start with the central layer and then taken continuously along each successive circle until we come to the circling stream of Ocean, along the outermost rim. And this is the order which Hephæstus would

[1] British Museum. Romano-British Military Antiquities. Central Saloon, Case D.

[2] *Kleine Schriften*, vol. ii., *Die Kunst bei Homer*, p. 22.

naturally take for his handiwork when hammering out the scenes on the concentric spheres, so that if we adopt it we have the impression of following the pictures as they spring

THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES

into being one after the other under the hand of the mighty smith.

"A precisely similar arrangement of reliefs in concentric bands is found upon metal shields and bowls of Phœnician workmanship" (E. Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 70, with

references to *Mon. Inst.*, x. pl. xxxi.–xxxiii. And *cp.* Helbig, *Das Homerische Epos*, pp. 22, 23). In these Phœnician works, as a rule, the heads of all the figures point to the circumference, and thus, it is true, from every point of view some or other of them appear upside down, but this does not seem to have been thought an artistic blunder. Nor ought we to think it such, when we remember the many similar instances on the vases of classical Greece, and consider the constant change of position involved for a shield in battle, even a large shield slung by a baldric. There seems, therefore, no valid reason against accepting this arrangement for the shield of Achilles. At the same time we should not forget that it is perfectly possible to arrange figures and groups circle-wise in such a way that though none of them are upside down, yet no abrupt change of direction is necessary for any of the heads at any point. This can be seen plainly in several mediæval instances, and even in ancient classical examples.[1]

The arrangement of the scenes in concentric rings is not only the one most naturally suggested by the words of the poem: it is far the most effective as a symbol for the imaginative content. For by this means we are shown in one sweep the varied life of man, dominated by the heavens, encompassed by the great waters, spreading out in widening circles from the concentrated interest and turmoil of the city to the calmer work of the fields and the dancing ring of the youth whose working-time has hardly yet begun. And perhaps the poet meant us to remember that the river of Ocean which touches the ring of youth and surrounds the whole is also the river of Death (Od. xi. init.).

Differences of opinion must always remain about the relative sizes of the circles and the relative space occupied by the scenes in each, because on these points nothing really decisive is said by the poet. But some clues may be found in the varying length of his descriptions

[1] See, for instance, the Italian shields in the Wallace Collection, and the Shield of Athena in the Elgin Room at the British Museum.

and the variations in his introductory words, the longer descriptions suggesting greater space, and the change of phrase a transition to a new circle or semicircle. This may be seen from the following analysis :—

FIRST (CENTRAL) RING : *Earth and Heaven.*

"On it he *fashioned* the earth," &c. (Il. xviii. 483–489): ἐν μὲν γαῖαν ἔτευξ'.

SECOND RING : *The City-Scenes* (490–540).

I assume this to form the widest band, because : (1) The shield would need a wide stretch of thickness for some distance round the centre. (2) The representation of the city-scenes demands considerable space, a space to be given by width rather than length : the scenes (*e.g.* of the besieged town) imply not long rows of single figures (as in the choral dance), but clustered figures close together, often with a high background much *en evidence* (as in the famous silver shard from Mycenæ, Fig. 2).

But if the central circle is kept fairly small, the whole circumference of the second ring will not be too great for the eye to take in the city-scenes as a whole ; and that they are meant to be conceived as a whole seems to be indicated by the poet grouping the two cities together in his first line :—

"And on it he *made* two cities . . ." (490) : ἐν δὲ δύω ποίησε πόλεις . . .

THIRD RING : *The Country-Scenes* (541–589).

"And on it he *set*" (three times) (541, 550, 561) : Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει . . .

The threefold repetition indicates that these three scenes go closely together, say in the first semicircle. I adopt Professor Gardner's suggestion that in this ring the poet begins with the lower arc, so that the figures go in the reverse direction to those in the preceding circle. This seems to increase both the clearness and the richness of the whole composition.

"And on it he *made*," &c. (twice) (573, 587) : Ἐν δὲ . . . ποίησε.

It will be noticed that the second description in this arc is much briefer than the first, and also that there are only two scenes in this upper semicircle, as against three in the lower. Such a variation from exact correspondence, far from being thought to cause difficulty, should be welcomed as a sign of the rhythmic "asymmetry" so familiar in classical Greek art.

FOURTH RING: *The Dancers* (590–606).

"And on it he *made a picture* of a dancing-place" (590): Ἐν δὲ χόρον ποίκιλλε.

"And round about the lovely dance *stood a great company*" (603): πολλὸς δ' ἱμερόεντα χορὸν περίσταθ' ὁμίλος.

The analogy of the preceding circles, and the fact that a choral

FIG. 2.—MYCENÆAN SILVER SHARD
(*From Dr. Leaf's "Iliad."* Messrs. MACMILLAN)

dance is regularly represented by a row of single figures, suggest that the youths and maidens come in one arc and the onlookers in the other. This would give us a conventional arrangement somewhat

similar to that adopted for the gods on the Parthenon frieze watching the Panathenaic procession and the delivery of the peplos.

FIFTH RING: *The Ocean-Stream* (607–608).

"And on it *he set* the great power of Ocean" (607): Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει ποταμοῖο μέγα σθένος Ὠκεάνοιο.

The Corslet (θώρηξ)

Homer's language suggests, as Andrew Lang points out ("Homer and his Age," c. vii.), a light "vest" of bronze, quite thin enough to be pierced by an arrow even at a distance (Il. v. 99). The fastenings are not beneath the arms, but down the middle of the breast and the back (iv. 132 ff.; xx. 413 ff.). Thus we may assume that the normal Homeric corslet was made with two side-pieces, and not with a breast-plate and a back-plate such as prevailed (though not universally) in later Greece. It is said to be "put together from *gyala*" (γυάλοισιν ἀρήροτα, Il. xv. 530), and as a *gyalon* elsewhere means "a hollow," it is a likely supposition that the name was given to the pieces because they were curved to suit the human figure. Beside the two side-pieces we should probably add two shoulder-pieces as well, for the corslet evidently comes high up on the neck (Il. xxii. 322–325). There is nothing in Homer to decide the question whether these curved pieces were always continuous plates of bronze, or whether they were sometimes formed of scales joined together. The name of "hollows" certainly suggests the former, and there is certainly no direct evidence for the latter, but see below on Diomede's corslet. Pausanias thought that the corslets he saw depicted at Delphi were Homeric, but these formed real massive breast-plates joining at the sides, and so do not suit the details of our data, as will appear more clearly in a moment (Paus. x. c. 26; 5, 6. c. 27; 3).

The Homeric corslet does not open at the sides for a very good reason—to avoid the risk of the slit at the parts most likely to be exposed in the play of the arms with spear and bow. Like a pair of stays, it opens at the back as well as at the front, and for the like reasons, namely, to allow more freedom to the figure and to admit of the corslet being worn tight or loose as occasion demanded, the edges being left wide enough to overlap. Thus one man can wear another's corslet, provided he is not unusually big: Hector and Patroclus can both wear the corslet of Achilles: Glaucus and Diomede can exchange theirs, and Paris can adjust Lycaon's to his own figure (Il. iii. 332–333). Achilles himself is too big for any one's corslet but his own and his father's. When his own armour is taken from him, he thinks of the tower-like shield of Ajax as the only thing in the camp that could serve his turn (xviii. 192, 193).

The corslet comes down as a rule[1] well on to the hips (covering the stomach, xiii. 371, 506–508). With it there is worn a belt, the *zôster*—or, as it is once called, the *zonê* (xi. 234)—made either of metal or of leather metal-faced (xi. 237), and furnished with two double clasps, one in front and one behind, to correspond with the openings already mentioned. This belt is of considerable importance for keeping the overlapping edges of the corslet in place.[2] I conceive it as wide, wide enough to come *below* the corslet; this would make it hold the edges more firmly together, and it would also give additional protection to the hips. A bronze belt in the British Museum shows just the width required (Room of Greek and Roman Life. Defensive Armour. Wall-case 112–119). This belt has clasps and holes set at varying distances, to

[1] There is no necessity to suppose that every corslet was *exactly* the same length.

[2] Doubtless there were subordinate fastenings (thongs or clasps) in other places, *e.g.* at the top of the corslet, but we do not hear of them expressly.

allow of its being worn tight or loose, as occasion demanded. With such a wide belt there is no difficulty in understanding xi. 234–237 (part of the "Menis"). The belt I understand to be here called first *zonê* and then *zostêr*, just as we might speak indifferently of a "girdle" and a "belt." "Iphidamas smote him on the girdle (*zonê*) below the corslet and drove with all his weight. But he did not pierce the glittering belt (*zostêr*), for the spear-point was turned by the silver as though it had been lead." It is through the lower part of this broad belt that the heroes are wounded in v. 537–615.

FIG. 3.
(*From Professor Gardner's "Handbook of Greek Sculpture,"* Messrs. MACMILLAN)

Sometimes there is also worn a kind of short bronze kilt, the *μίτρη*, fastened round the waist *beneath* the corslet, as a kilt might be fastened beneath a waistcoat (not, of course, next to the skin, for the ordinary linen shirt, the *chiton*, would come between). This kilt might also be described, though more loosely, as a girdle with hanging flaps, and the name it is called by is actually used in later Greek for a woman's girdle. For defensive purposes it takes the place of the later "wings," made of leather and metal, that were attached to the corslet itself; it seems in fact the same thing in a less developed form. Thus the general effect of the Homeric corslet and kilt taken together might be given, and I believe is given, on the figures of a later age. See, for example, the *stele* of Aristion (given here, Fig. 3) and a vase by Duris (Fig. 4). The Aristion monument shows plate-armour, the Duris vase

FIG. 4.—VASE BY DURIS, SHOWING THE CORSLET

scale. In both of these cases the corslet and kilt are apparently made in one, and there appears no separate belt, but otherwise the general appearance would be Homeric, and the central figure on the vase plainly shows the method of clasping the corslet in front. It is tempting to conjecture that the corslet grew in compactness, size, and strength, as the large shield gave place to the small, and the art of smithying the bronze developed (*cp.* A. Lang, *op. cit.*; Leaf, App. B). In the illustrations, it should be noted that the corslet shows a distinct likeness to a sleeveless shirt, a *chiton*, of bronze, and this certainly seems the best clue to the famous term "bronze-shirted" (χαλκο-χίτωνες).

Now it is confidently asserted that, again and again in the Iliad, where the corslet plays a part in the detail there we find confusion in the fighting; and this confusion, it is held, betrays the corslet as an awkward interloper. Let us, therefore, test the several instances in detail. There are only five.

(1) Menelaus wears the corslet and kilt, and thus when Pandarus shoots at him Athena does well to guide the arrow to the place "where the golden clasps of the belt came together and the edges of the corslet overlapped (*lit.* the corslet joined double)" (iv. 132, 133). For just here the arrow has at least four thicknesses of armour to get through, viz. the belt, the two edges of the corslet, and last of all the kilt. And in this instance it is plain that if the kilt had not been there the arrow would have gone deep, in spite of the corslet and the belt, and therefore the poet says it was the kilt that protected him the most.[1] As it is, the blood runs down beneath the short flaps of the kilt, staining thighs and shins and ankles (140–147). But Menelaus, looking down at his

[1] iv. 135–138. "The arrow sped through belt (*zostêr*) and corslet and kilt, and it was the kilt that protected him the most, but even through this it drove."

belt (not at the wound underneath, which of course is covered), sees the tips of the barbs and the base of the arrow-head sticking out of the clasp.[1] He sees, that is to say, that the arrow is not buried up to the head in his armour. Now he knows what he is wearing and the thicknesses involved, and therefore he concludes at once (152), and quite rightly, that whatever the wound feels like (and he had shuddered at first with his brother, 150), the arrow cannot have reached a vital place, but has been checked by belt and corslet and kilt, as the poet indeed has already given us to understand (135–138). This is what he tells Agamemnon in so many words (185–187), only he calls the part of the corslet in question his "waistband" (*zôma*). "It was checked," he says of the arrow, "by my belt, and underneath (*i.e.* below that again) by my waistband and kilt."

I follow, it will be observed, the old view (see Monro, *ad loc.*) that the "waistband" means here simply the part of the corslet that covers the waist. The part is named and not the whole, I suggest—both here and again at l. 216, where Machaon undoes the armour—because as a matter of fact it is only with the part that Menelaus and Machaon are concerned.[2] The coolness implied in this little calculation of Menelaus is entirely in keeping with his bearing throughout, and indeed is a touch that should not be missed. When the good leech Machaon appears on the scene he first draws out the arrow before attempting to undo the armour (otherwise he would have run the risk of twisting the point in the wound), and then loosens successively the belt, the waist of the corslet, and the kilt (213–216).

[1] 150–152. There is no inconsistency with line 213, where the barbs are said to be broken (or bent) backwards, as Machaon draws the arrow out. The slender barbs need not be buried up to the tip to run the risk of being broken by Machaon's tug. Anyone who has pulled a long thin nail out of hard wood knows how easily it can be bent in the process.

[2] Or one might even guess that *zôma*, lit. "*girded thing*," was sometimes used as a synonym for *corslet* in general. Od. xiv. 482 : σάκος οἷον ἔχων καὶ ζῶμα φαεινόν does suggest something of the kind. (*Cp.* the American colloquial use of "waist" for a bodice.)

(2) It is clear from this that an archer would not do well to aim where the corslet fastened at the waist, because of the thicknesses involved. But it is quite different for a skilful spearsman at close quarters. He might deliberately choose this place knowing that he could feel his way into the vertical slit with the point of his spear, and get a clear drive through the flesh into the vital organs. This is what Achilles does when he kills Polydorus. As the lad races past him Achilles catches him in the back at the fatal crevice, and drives the spear right through his body till the point comes out by the navel (xx. 413–416).

(3) From both the last cases it is plain what a risk a man would run if his corslet came unfastened in the battle, as it might if the leather of the thongs snapped or one of the clasps worked loose. It is a misfortune of this kind that befalls Patroclus in xvi. 791 ff., and leads straight to his death. The corslet does not fall off him, ("naked," as often, meaning only *relatively* "naked"), but it is "loosened by Apollo" (xvi. 804); the top clasps at the back being jerked apart, we may guess, by the staggering blow the god deals him from behind with the flat of the hand upon his shoulders (xvi. 791, 792). It is exactly there, at any rate, "on the back between the shoulders" that the spear of Euphorbus smites him, and I think we are meant to understand that Euphorbus had the wit to aim at the opening he saw (806, 807).

(4) In the duel between Paris and Menelaus we read: "Menelaus hurled his lance and struck his foeman's shield: through the bright shield went the mighty spear, and drove on through the corslet, and tore the tunic on his flank; but Paris swerved and saved himself from death" (iii. 355–360).[1]

[1] (Repeated for Hector and Ajax, vii. 251–254.)

> . . . προΐει δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος,
> καὶ βάλε Πριαμίδαο κάτ ἀσπίδα πάντοσ' ἐΐσην·
> διὰ μὲν ἀσπίδος ἦλθε φαεινῆς ὄβριμον ἔγχος,
> καὶ διὰ θώρηκος πολυδαιδάλου ἠρήρειστο,
> ἀντικρὺ δὲ παραὶ λαπάρην διάμησε χιτῶνα
> ἔγχος· ὃ δ' ἐκλίνθη καὶ ἀλεύατο κῆρα μέλαιναν.

Difficulty has been made here because it is supposed, surely gratuitously, that the last line must describe what Paris did *after* the rush of the spear described in the three verses preceding. It is then asked, and quite naturally, how a man could swerve with any chance of success *after* the spear was once through his corslet?[1] But the fact is that the poet never says, and, I take it, never means, that Paris was foolish enough to wait till the spear was through any of his armour whatsoever before he swerved. Corslet or no corslet, it would go hard with him if he were so slow. The poet trusts us to understand that Paris swerved aside *in time*, swerved, that is, the moment the spear struck on his shield, and so it only tears the tunic on the edge of his flank and does not even scratch the flesh. The statements are made, it is true, without this explanation, and are placed one after the other without express subordination. But this is the regular Homeric fashion: and the "paratactic" construction ought not to make us miss the inner connection.[2]

Of course it is "a narrow shave" for Paris, and it is plain from Menelaus' cry of reproach to Zeus (365–368) that he too recognises it as such.

(5) When Pandarus shoots at Diomede in v. (97 ff.) the arrow strikes the right shoulder-piece in front and goes through into the flesh (98–100); but not surely out to Diomede's back! Nothing is said to suggest such a surprising result; indeed the wound is evidently quite slight (106). The corslet is spattered with blood-drops at the

[1] It may be noted that if this were the way to take the lines, it would not mend matters simply to excise the mention of the corslet (358), for the manœuvre would have still less chance *after* the spear was *through the tunic!*

[2] Indeed "paratactic" as the construction is, the very arrangement of the sentences and the use of the particles are designed to indicate this connection. The μὲν in l. 357, describing the course of the spear after it strikes the shield, calls for and is answered by the δέ in 360, describing the movement of Paris at the same time, and *both* sentences are put side by side immediately after the leading statement about the first shock of the spear upon the shield (356).

first, but the arrow sticking in the wound prevents the full gush of blood, and what issues after the first piercing could only trickle slowly down underneath the armour. But when Sthenelus pulls out the arrow, the blood shoots out "like a javelin" (112, 113).

It may be suggested in passing that the blood would spurt up all the more sharply if there was the pressure of the close-fitting bronze about the aperture, and I think it is the poet's realisation of this condition that has led him to the strong metaphor used. It spurts up, we are told, "through the yielding shirt."[1] This may refer to (1) the soft linen shirt worn below the corslet. The poet's imagination sees the blood staining and drenching the stuff, and it is surely pedantic to demand a mention of the armour again as essential. Or (2) the words may actually mean the corslet itself. (In this case we must suppose scale-armour.) This undoubtedly gives more point to the epithet "yielding," "pliant"; but it may be admitted that we should expect something more to show that "the shirt" is here "the bronze shirt." Certainty is not possible, but neither is it of great moment, for either interpretation makes excellent sense.

I understand Sthenelus to draw the arrow out backwards (*διαμπερές*, as in xii. 398, where the buttress follows Sarpedon's tug backwards). Indeed I cannot conceive how the contrary can be thought possible. To get an arrow right through a man's shoulder from front to back is something too much of a surgical operation to be done by hand on the open field; and even if it were done, the blood would not spurt out suddenly in the way described.

As Diomede does not take off his corslet, the jagged edges of the broken bronze (scale or plate) must remain round the wound, and as the wound is on his shoulder in front, the baldric of the shield is liable to chafe it, and to

[1] *διὰ στρεπτοῖο χιτῶνος*. I follow Dr. Leaf in thinking "pliant" the most natural meaning for *στρεπτός*.

chafe it all the more, we must observe, just because of these edges, which would be pressed down on it by the rub of the strap and hurt it very much, particularly if it got inflamed with Diomede's exertion, as it evidently does. Therefore the presence of the corslet is not a reason against, but an additional reason for, Diomede's action later on, when he raises the baldric to ease the place and give the wound a chance to cool (v. 795 ff.). As the breakage has left an opening, he is not compelled to unfasten the corslet in order to get at the wound and wipe away the blood. Moreover, Diomede is the kind of man who would be sure to disarm as little as possible: he does not, apparently, even take off his shield; and in any case he would have to wipe away the clotted blood from the bronze before he lifted up the corslet, or he might tear at the wound and hurt it more.

I imagine the use of the corslet to have come in with the use of the round shield, and to be widely prevalent, though not universal, in the Homeric world. It has been thought that a custom which certainly seems both early and widespread, "the rending of the (linen) tunic as a final mark of triumph," tells against any such prevalence (xi. 100; see Leaf, *ad loc.*; ii. 416, and elsewhere). But it seems to me to tell just the other way. The torn linen tunic could have been no sign of the enemy's defeat, if he had no other outer covering, for the simple reason that under those circumstances it must always have been getting torn in the mêlée whatever the warrior's fate. But the sign would have been unmistakable if the tunic was usually covered by the corslet and could not be torn until that was taken off, for in battle it would only be taken off by the man who spoiled the slain. The brevity and comparative infrequency of the references to the corslet can be explained on the simple and natural supposition that it was not so important a part of the panoply as the shield, helmet, and spear.

The result of this long analysis appears to be that the

references to the corslet, far from causing confusion or absurdity, confirm each other by their vividness and consistency. And I would add that the theory opposed to this, the theory that a warlike audience, versed in the use of the corslet, insisted on its introduction in the poems, and yet never objected to the absurdities it introduced,—such a theory cannot bear thinking out. If fighting-men wanted to hear of the corslet so much, they would at least insist on its making sense in the fight.

CHAPTER XVI

HOMER AND THE ICELANDIC SAGAS

Of all the parallels found for the Homeric poems, the nearest is furnished by the great Icelandic prose sagas of the tenth to the thirteenth centuries A.D. There are marked and obvious differences, but the likeness, when all deductions are made, is still great, so great that detailed comparison may be fruitful in more ways than one.

In that Northern island, two millenniums after the Homeric age, a kindred yet diverse people, under kindred yet diverse conditions, began to work out for themselves another noble literature, based, like the heroic poems of the South, on "the deeds of men." The men were free men of the white stock: they were laying the first foundations of free government in the new land to which they had sailed: they were making civil society there, making it deliberately, and yet they were warriors and explorers first of all. "With law," says Njal, as Odysseus might have said—"with law shall our land be built up, and with lawlessness wasted and spoiled": and peculiar respect is felt in Iceland, as in Greece, for the man who can give good counsel in suits-at-law.[1]

Yet the Icelander, like Achilles, held it a duty above all other duties to avenge, independently of law, the friends who were foully slain. Like Odysseus, he loved his home, and yet, like Odysseus also, he was fain to go sea-faring

[1] "The Story of Burnt Njal," c. 69 (Dasent's translation); *cp.* Il. xviii. 497–508; Od. ix. 112–115. The translations are all taken, with the alteration of a word or two for purposes of quotation, from Dasent's splendid version. The numbering of the chapters follows his.

over the known and the unknown world, and the man who met him might well ask if he was pirate, merchantman, or prince. Like Odysseus, he could win honour and gifts wherever he went: the Earls of the Scottish isles, the royal houses of Ireland and Scandinavia, the Pope at Rome, the Imperial Guard at Micklegarth,[1] welcomed the Icelander. Yet to him, as to Odysseus, nothing was sweeter than his home in the rocky island that lay far out in the West, the barren land that was the nurse of heroes (Od. ix. init.). Odysseus and Calypso, Odysseus and Circe, come before our memories in the scene where Gunnhilda of Norway would fain keep Hrut at her side, but knows by her woman's wit that he hankers for his home and his betrothed in Iceland, and sends him back thither in peace and with precious gifts, but lays a spell on him none the less (Njal, c. vi.). Alcinous does no more honour to Odysseus than the King of Denmark does to Gunnar, "letting him prove himself in diverse feats of strength against his men, and there were none that were his match in even one feat"; desirous to wed him to his own kinswoman, "and raise him to great power if he would settle in the land" (Njal, c. 31).

From the past there came to these Northerners a wonderful and stirring mythology, and at the same time dreams of a new and gentler religion were beginning to stir in their own hearts. There are obvious differences, as I said, between these men and the Homeric Greeks: they were less supple, far less sensitive to beauty: they had not the grace, the refinement, the delicacy of manner. And they were of far stronger stuff: they could not lie readily; they could never turn before an enemy, nor cry out when they were hurt. They die fighting with a grim jest on their lips, and their souls go in triumph to Valhalla; not one of them flutters out *indignata sub umbras*. They are at once more passionate and more self-controlled, fiercer and more generous: they think even less of taking life than a Greek:

[1] The Northern name for Constantinople.

in peace, as in war, men are cut down ruthlessly for a trivial slight: and yet, on almost every page, we meet with a tale like the tale of Vestein,[1] who, riding with two friends at his side on a doubtful errand, chances to learn of an ambush ahead, and at once finds a pretext for sending his comrades back to safety, while he rides forward to meet the danger by himself.

But the likenesses are at least as significant as the differences, and both perhaps are reflected best in their greatest achievement, the saga of Njal. It and its fellows are all written in prose, compact and rough, but through the austerity, even the harshness of the form, it is plain to see how the same elements of life and of passion that appealed to the Greek struck fire from the Icelander as well.

In drawing out the comparison, it is true, one must be careful not to claim more for the Icelandic than the early beginnings of epic, but the character of that beginning remains of high significance. In the first place, what we find is plainly the stuff for an epic of the Homeric type, not the Virgilian, drawing its inspiration rather from the deeds and adventures of definite individual men than from the vast historic processes that depend upon the multitude. The figures are always persons, never mere generic types, as in Virgil's poem. There Æneas stands for the endurance, tenacity, and "piety" of Rome, and Turnus for the stormy forces in opposition; they are not men we know and love for themselves; but Odysseus stands for Odysseus, and we feel that we could recognise him as the old nurse did: Gunnar of Lithend stands for Gunnar of Lithend, and we should be indignant if any one else were offered in his place; the tears we give for Skarphedinn are for Skarphedinn, not for heroism in general. The Homeric epic, it is true, has a much vaster sweep than the Icelandic, but it never loses this characteristic note of individualism.

[1] Saga of Gisli.

In Homer, as in the sagas, the individual is dominant from first to last; the nation is in the background.

It is entirely in accordance with this spirit that both the Homeric bards and the Icelandic sagamen take such delight in the personal encounters between man and man, and it is not surprising that some of the most obvious likenesses between the Homeric and the Icelandic work are to be found in this connection. It is true that the fighting in the sagas is limited to such encounters, while in the Iliad we have the shock of mighty armies, "far on the ringing plains of windy Troy," but within its limits the likeness is remarkable. There is the same passion for personal renown, the same desire "if a man must die in any case, to do first some such deed as shall be held aloft for a long time afterwards." This saying of Kjartan's in the Laxdale Saga might almost be a paraphrase of Hector's last resolve, or of Sarpedon's words to Glaucus at the wall. And the joy the narrator feels in describing the battle is the same: it is the satisfaction in the sheer energy of man stamping itself unmistakably upon the world; the irresistible rush of Hector through the gates, the sudden unveiling of Odysseus before the suitors, these give us the same delight that we feel when Kari strides up the crowded hall of Sigurd the Earl, and cuts down the liar before his face; the same delight that we get from Skarphedinn's words: "This axe I had in my hand when I leapt twelve ells across Markfleet, and slew Thrain, Sigfus' son, and eight of them stood before me, and none of them could touch me. Never have I aimed weapon at man that I have not smitten him" (Njal, c. 119).

Above all, the details show that the fighting, in both literatures, is described by men who know how the work is done for the benefit of men who want to hear. Nothing is blurred or shirked: the warrior's craft is felt to be too interesting and too important for that: each movement is so clearly seen that one might almost make a model of

the figures in every leading group. Nothing, indeed, is more remarkable in the Homeric battle-pieces than this cool precision of statement in the midst of the poetic glow. The Northern prose lacks the splendour of the Greek poetry, but it has just the same precision. The framework of the structure, so to speak, is the same.

Take this Homeric passage, chosen almost at haphazard, from the struggle round the wall in Book xii., where Ajax and Teucer come to the rescue against the Lycians under Glaucus and Sarpedon. (I have omitted the brilliant epithets and one parenthesis, but otherwise the translation is nearly literal.)

"Ajax was the first to kill his man, Sarpedon's friend, the valiant Epicles. He seized a jagged stone that lay inside the wall . . . and hurled it at his head. It shattered the helmet and broke the bones of the skull in pieces, and the man dropped from the tower like a diver into the sea, and the life left him then and there. And Teucer shot at Glaucus as he was climbing on the wall, where he saw that his shoulder was left bare, and so he stopped his rush. Glaucus slipped down quietly from the wall, so that none of the Greeks should know that he was hurt and make a boast of it. Sarpedon saw that he was gone, and his heart sank at the thought, but still he went on with the fight. He thrust at Alcmæon, Thestor's son, and smote him, and then drew back his spear, and Alcmæon fell face forward on the shaft, and the bronze armour rang as he fell" (Il. xii. 378–396).

Put this side by side with Kari's struggle against three men who come at him together: Mord, Sigmund, and Lambi (Njal, c. 145).

"Lambi ran behind Kari's back and thrust at him with a spear; Kari caught sight of him and leapt up as the blow fell, and stretched his legs far apart, so the blow spent itself on the ground, and Kari jumped down on the spear-shaft and snapped it in sunder. He had a spear in one

hand and a sword in the other, but no shield. He thrust with the right hand at Sigmund and smote him on the breast, and the spear came out between his shoulders, and down he fell and was dead at once. With his left hand he made a cut at Mord, and smote him on the hip, and cut it asunder and his backbone too: he fell flat on his face, and was dead at once. After that Kari turned sharp round on his heel like a whipping-top and made at Lambi, but Lambi took the only way to save himself, and that was by running away as hard as he could."

It is needless to labour the parallels here: from the careful insistence on the way the weapons did their work, and the keen sense (almost like a sculptor's) for the exact significance of each warrior's position and posture, down to the use of a homely little metaphor to make the scene flash out before us. Even the sequence and arrangement of the sentences is the same: point after point of the action stated simply, without subordination, and yet in such a way as to make us feel the close connection and swiftness of the whole. There is nothing in the Hebrew battle-pieces of this accurate detail: there is none of this simplicity in the Virgilian encounters. Even in Malory spear-play and sword-play are not told of with this familiar zest, this interest in the actual and deadly strokes: compared with Homer and the Sagas, the fighting is but the fighting of a tourney. The likeness throughout is heightened by the similarity of the weapons. The fighting is mostly done on foot, mainly with spear, sword, axe, and shield. Corslets are worn, but not always, and sometimes, as sometimes in Homer, even the shield is discarded. At the same time the greatest chieftains are proud to show their prowess with the bow.

Gunnar before his foemen, twenty-five in all, with only his brother Kolskegg at his side, is curiously like Odysseus facing the suitors with Telemachus and the herdsmen. "Gunnar strings his bow," says the saga, "and takes his

arrows and throws them on the ground before him, and shoots as soon as ever the foemen come within shot. . . . Then Thorgeir spoke and said, 'This is no use: let us make for him as hard as we can.' They did so, and first went Aunund the fair, Thorgeir's kinsman. Gunnar hurled his bill at him and it fell on his shield and clove it in twain, but the bill rushed through Aunund. Augmund Shockhead rushed at Gunnar behind his back. Kolskegg saw that and cut off at once both Augmund's legs from under him and hurled him out into Rangriver, and he was drowned there and then. Then a hard battle arose" (Njal, c. 71).

Even so Odysseus springs to the great threshold, the bow and quiver in his hand, pours out the arrows at his feet, and shoots Antinous dead. Then Eurymachus cries, "'This man will have no mercy. He will shoot us down so long as there is one of us left alive. Draw your swords, . . . and let us all set upon him at once.' As he spoke he drew his sword and sprang forward with a cry; and at the same moment Odysseus shot. The arrow struck him in the breast, and he dropped forward over the table, while the mist of death sank upon his eyes. Then Amphinomus made a rush on the doorway. But Telemachus was too quick for him: he hurled his spear and struck him from behind between the shoulders, and he fell crashing on the floor" (abbreviated from Od. xxii. 69–94). Then the fight grows hard, and Odysseus has need of shield and spear.

It is worth noting also how well both sagamen and Homeric poets understand the special fascination and excitement of a life-and-death struggle inside an ordinary dwelling-house. The hemming-in, the desperate efforts to get out, the horror of the familiar quarters now become a death-trap, the varying fortunes of the fight, due to the seizure by each side of the advantages the building may give to each, the sudden importance that trivial points of domestic arrangement thus assume—all the peculiar features of the situation, and their peculiar value for poetry, are

brought out to the full, not only by the poet of the vengeance in the hall of Odysseus, but by the sagamen who told of Gunnar's death-fight at Lithend, of Njal and his sons inside the burning house, of Grettir and his brother in their hut. The work on either side bears the stamp of men who know the conditions at first-hand, and to whom the conditions appeal in the same way.

Only we miss throughout the Icelandic the brilliant decoration of Homer, and throughout the Greek the stern humour of the North. This is not to say that there is no decoration at all in the sagas, any more than it is to deny humour to Iliad or Odyssey. And the way decoration appeals to the Icelander may be seen from the first appearance of the noble Kari. One single ship with Njal's sons aboard is defending itself against thirteen Vikings. Kari is sailing by with ten ships of his own. Knowing nothing of the quarrel nor who the men may be, on seeing the fight he rows up with all speed simply out of interest for the weaker side. Njal's sons catch sight of him as the ships draw near (Njal, c. 83).

"Along their sides were shield on shield, but on the ship that came first stood a man by the mast who was clad in a silken kirtle, and had a gilded helm, and his hair was both fair and thick; that man had a spear inlaid with gold in his hand."

This can bear comparison with the entry of any Greek hero, except where the great metaphors are used. And here again every portion of the detail deserves notice, the single figure standing out distinct and clear on the deck, the soft folds of the tunic, the long fair hair, the gleaming helmet, the glittering spear. Homeric phrases and images crowd upon us as we read: fair-haired Menelaus, the long-haired Achaians, the golden helmet of Achilles, the light striking on the gold ring round Hector's spear-shaft, Odysseus on the prow straining his eyes for the monster he is determined to fight.

There is true similarity again in the treatment of Nature as a setting for the adventures of man. This appears strikingly in such a passage as this, one that gives the very romance of sea-faring and might have come straight out of the Odyssey (Njal, c. 152):—

"They had quite lost their reckoning, and sailed on and on, and all at once three great waves broke over their ship, one after the other. Then Flosi said they must be near some land, and that this was a ground-swell. A great mist was on them, but the wind rose so that a great gale overtook them, and they scarce knew where they were before they were dashed on shore at dead of night. . . . Then they had to look for shelter and warmth for themselves, and the day after they went up on a height."

We think of the island off the Cyclops' den, and of Odysseus' tale how "we ran in there on a dark night and some god must have been our guide; for there was no moon, and the mist lay thick over the sea so that none of us saw the land nor the long rollers on the beach until the ships were aground" (Od. ix. 142–148). We think of his adventure on the raft, from the moment when the huge wave swept over him down to his landing at nightfall when he creeps for shelter under the bush (Od. v.). We think of the time when he and his men "had lost all reckoning of east and west," and came to an unknown shore, and Odysseus went up on a height to spy out the land and found it was an island, as Flosi and his men discover here (Od. x. 140 ff.). Of course the Greek is far more elaborate and polished, but the foundation is the same. These are the rough blocks straight from the quarry: the Greek gives the perfect finished building. But the quarry for both is from the same mountain. We are scarcely surprised to find Flosi's death coming to him from the sea, with the same mystery, the same note of adventure at the end of life, that the poet of the Odyssey knew how to put into

his lines. Flosi is an Icelandic Ulysses, as Dasent pointed out long ago:—

"Men say that the end of Flosi's life was, that he fared abroad when he had grown old; . . . and he was in Norway that winter, and the next summer he was late getting ready for sea, and . . . men told him that his ship was not seaworthy.

"Flosi said she was quite good enough for an old and death-doomed man, and he bore his goods on shipboard and put out to sea. But of that ship no tidings were ever heard" (Njal, c. 158).

The general conditions of the life are almost purely Homeric, and come before us with Homeric freshness; the open life in hall and bower, the men and women, though they have thralls to serve them, taking pride to work themselves with their own hands. When we read how Gunnar of Lithend goes down to his field, a corn-sieve in one hand and in the other a battle-axe, and how he lays his axe and his cloak of fine stuff down beside him, and sows his corn himself, as a matter of course (Njal, c. 53), when we rejoice over this union of warrior, farm-labourer, and mighty chieftain in one, we should not fail to remember how Odysseus sets his prowess in fighting and his prowess in reaping and ploughing side by side and claims to be chief in all, and how Laertes is found toiling among the thorns and looking like a king. With the same stately simplicity Bergthora sets meat on the board for her husband Njal and his stalwart sons, and Gudruna goes down to wash the linen as Nausicaa might do.

The whole position of women, indeed, is much the same, and the spell of a woman for good or evil is felt in the same way. The faithfulness of a wife never had nobler showing than in Bergthora's words when she refuses to leave her husband in the burning house: "I was given away to Njal young, and I have promised him this, that we would both share the same fate" (Njal, c. 128). And

on the other hand, like a destroying spirit, Hallgerda moves through the story (as Gudruna does in the Laxdæla), beautiful and baneful, a desire to the noblest men and their destruction. She has a strange likeness to Helen, this fairest of women, with her many husbands and her one fair daughter, but here the Greek is infinitely superior in delicacy and tenderness of drawing: Hallgerda has none of Helen's mysterious charm and none of her softness.

But if Hallgerda resembles Helen at all, most surely Njal reminds us of Priam, the old man, calm and wise, courteous and large-hearted, surrounded by his sons and their wives, the man who can look before and after, whose word is trusted by all men (Njal, c. 77), who foretells his own death (c. 110), and meets it in his own house, whose sons are the pride of his heart, and yet bring ruin on themselves, and on him, by their headstrong deeds, who knows all that a warrior should do, and all that beseems a man of honour, and yet never lifts the sword himself. Like Priam he is overwhelmed by the tragedy, being himself absolutely blameless in heart and in mind. The storm of wrong and vengeance sweeps round him, and because of his own love and sympathy drags him into its net, but all the influences that issue from him are the influences that make for wisdom and reconciliation. He will not desert his sons, and so he dies in the house with them, but it is always he that offers atonement in their quarrels, if it be consistent with honour. The reverence that Priam wins from Menelaus and Achilles—the two sworn enemies of his sons—may well be put side by side with the respect and pity that Flosi feels for Njal, even at the very moment when the passion of the strife has led the younger man to the outrage of the Burning. On Greek, as on Icelander, the same impression was made by the peculiar dignity and pathos of a noble old-age among a people at perpetual strife. The old mother, too, waiting at home for the warrior son that she will not see again, we find her in Asdis

the mother of Grettir, as in Anticleia the mother of Odysseus, though Asdis is of a mettle that Anticleia does not show.

And just as the deeper elements in the Homeric religion well up in that last Book of the Iliad, where the pathos of old-age is at the highest, till the very words of Iris, Thetis, and Priam startle us by their likeness to the language of the Bible, so do the Christian elements in the Icelandic tale come to the fore in that great scene of the Burning, where the horror is lost in our exultation over the valour and endurance. "Keep up your hearts," Njal says to the frightened maids, "and put your faith in God." And when he and his wife lie down calmly in their bed, with their little grandson between them, to wait without a groan for their death, we read how "they signed themselves and the boy with the cross, and gave over their souls into God's hand, and that was the last word that men heard them utter" (c. 128).

As in the Greek poem, so in the Icelandic prose, this solemnity is all the more impressive from its rareness. It is with human life, and not with superhuman, that both have their chief concern. In the religious attitude at large, indeed, there are other points of likeness which are well worth drawing out, in spite of the manifest differences. The mythological element, no doubt, gives a fairy charm to the Greek which the Icelandic does not possess. Magic and mythology are kept in the background there. And what does come forward comes with an iron ring that is not heard in the South. Grettir's wrestle with the ghost is a wrestle with a creature that can break men's backs in sunder: when the twelve Valkyries ride to the lonely house before the battle, it is to weave the web of war with swords for the shuttles and men's heads for the weights (Njal, c. 156). And the outlook after death is quite different: the Northmen had always looked to Valhalla, that great hall above the sky roofed with golden shields, as the place where the

warriors meet: it was only the base and the weak who need fear the dim realm of Hela. But the outlook on life itself is essentially the same.

Both Homer's heroes and the Icelanders never lose the sense of fate, and both draw a stern comfort from it. Gunnar answers the entreaties of his brother to be on his guard by the quiet words, "Death will come to me when it will come, wherever I may be, if that is my fate" (Njal, c. 67). Just so Hector, Gunnar's brother in soul, would comfort Andromache, "No man can send me to my death before my time, and no man can escape his doom when once the hour has come" (Il. vi. 487–489). Nor, in either case, is this consciousness of destiny suffered to give any chill to action. Hjort, Gunnar's brother, believes the dream that foretells his own death at Gunnar's side, but he will not listen to Gunnar's entreaty to leave him because of it: "I will not do that," says Hjort; "though I know my death is sure, I will stand by thee still" (Njal, c. 61). It is the very spirit of Achilles' answer to Thetis, when she foretells his death if he persists in the path of honour: "Let it come at once, since I could not save my friend!" (Il. xviii. 98, 99).

Though many of them believe in dreams and omens, the heroes, Southern and Northern alike, will not let themselves be bound by them. Just as Hector sweeps aside the omen at the trench—"the best omen is this, to fight for the fatherland!" (Il. xii. 243)—so the sons of Yngvillda laugh at her fateful dream before they set out on their disastrous errand; and say that it should not "stand in the way of their ride to the Thing" (Njal, c. 133). Some of the Icelanders have the second-sight, like Theoclymenus in the Odyssey, and as with Theoclymenus, it is often a family gift. "Helgi," says Kari, "is like enough to have it, for his father has" (c. 84). There is no divination by sacrifice in the sagas, any more than there is in the Homeric poems, but, on the other hand, as

in the Homeric poems, birds are noticed and their flight. "Two ravens flew along with them all the way" (Njal, c. 78), and the sight gladdens the hearts of the adventurers, much as the omen of the eagle comforts Priam and his people when he is setting out (Il. xxiv. 315 ff.).

But what is perhaps more important to note is the poetic skill, the combined discretion and daring, with which the omens are used in each literature. They are slightly touched on where the interest is slight, and the cool scepticism of the doubters is constantly used to heighten the sense of actuality. Hogni is so distrustful of portents that his friends shrink from telling him the signs at his dead father's cairn (Njal, c. 77). So in the Iliad Nestor is little prepared to accept Agamemnon's dream, and Priam speaks contemptuously of soothsayers. But as the events move towards some great disaster the signs will increase and deepen: prophecy after prophecy comes to Gunnar from Njal, as to Achilles from Thetis, and at last, just before Gunnar's death, the half-human dog who has been his guardian gives his master one strange howl of warning as he gets his own death-blow. The voice of the faithful immortal horse foretelling Achilles' doom, as he goes into the battle, stirs us in the same sort of way, the supernatural portent blending with the natural sympathy between animal and man (Njal, c. 75; Il. xix. fin.). The omens in the Odyssey, advancing from the first dream of Penelope to the dread vision of Theoclymenus, when the board drips with blood before his eyes and the hall is filled with darkness, and the faces of the suitors seem wet with tears (Od. xx. 351 ff.)—these all find their analogues in the dark omens that gather round Njal, his wife, and his sons, as events move towards the Burning. Over the face of Skarphedinn their hero comes an "unlucky" look that man after man can see: misgivings deepen in Njal's foreseeing mind: an old wife at Bergthorsknoll entreats them to burn the vetch-stack behind the house, or it will be set on fire "when Njal

my master is burnt, house and all, and Bergthora my foster-child." And last of all, Njal looks up when supper is spread at evening, "and it seems as though the gable wall were thrown down, and the whole board and the meat on it is one gore of blood" (Njal, c. 126).

The likeness here to the Odyssey has often been noticed, and indeed it is almost verbal, but neither here nor elsewhere is the likeness of the kind that suggests borrowing. Borrowing indeed is almost precluded by the gap in space and time, even though we might admit that at Constantinople an Icelander may have heard Homeric tales. Nor does the likeness seem to imply even a common stock of stories from the distant past. Where there is such a common stock, just as where there is borrowing, we expect one or both of two things: the sequence of events in the tales must be noticeably similar, or similar set phrases must re-occur. But neither condition is present here. The likenesses are all independent likenesses of spirit. A people of the same general character have worked themselves into the same stage of development, and the same elements in that stage appeal to their poetic sense. How far this may imply racial affinity it is hard to say. To some extent it surely must. It may be that it only shows the unity underlying the diversity in the different branches of the Indo-European family. Followers of Professor Ridgeway will go further and claim that it makes strongly for some form of his theory that the Achaians were really Northerners, markedly different from the Ægæan people among whom they came, and with whom they amalgamated, and that the Homeric poems are sprung from the union of the Northern vigour and nobility with the exquisite art of the South.

But our business now is not with these obscure racial problems. Whatever may be the truth on these points, if the Icelanders were, to any substantial extent, making the same kind of epic out of the same kind of stuff as the

Homeric poets before them, the characteristic points in the spirit and structure of their work may well throw light on "Homer."

It is worth noticing, for instance, that the sagas undoubtedly are woven round an important core of fact. This is proved by their references to historic events which are known and can be dated, and by the cross-references to the characters that reappear in different sagas in such a way as to confirm and elucidate one another. Of course this concern with actual events did not prevent the play of fancy on the part of the individual sagaman, and of course on such play the final greatness of the saga depended. But it shows well how this kind of epic loves a basis of actual fact.

Again, one of the characteristics that strike us most in their story-telling is the quiet manner in which the points are so often made. One little remark may be slid in unobtrusively, and, chapters after, it comes into our minds, if we are alert, with a flash: if we are not, we miss it altogether. For instance, the story of Njal opens with Hrut noticing "the thief's eyes" in the beautiful face of his niece Hallgerda. No comment is made, then or afterwards, but in the forty-eighth chapter we hear of the theft that brings destruction on her husband, the stainless hero Gunnar. This too is the way that Homer works, and such work is only done by those who have a keen eye for the far-reaching issues of character, and a sense for the inner unity that character gives to a tale.

Not that it could be claimed for a moment that the Icelandic tales ever show a unity anything like so profound and organic as the Homeric. The saga is told as a history, not worked up into one symmetric poem. Characters are born, grow up and die, enter into the tale and pass out of it, in a way that would be impossible to the Greek. In no sense could Njala be called "one action," as the Iliad might be called, with all its additions. Aristotle's test of unity for an epic—whether it would provide one

tragedy or many—might seem to condemn the Icelandic saga out of hand as scarcely more than a string of events. But the condemnation would be hasty. There is a real feeling after unity, though often the result is rather to be compared to the unity of a great biography or a Tolstoyan novel than to the compact themes of the Iliad or the Odyssey, either of which could be told in a couple of sentences. We have in the Icelandic only the beginnings of the great epic style, as I said at first, but just because they are the beginnings, they may be all the more important. They help to illustrate the temper of this type of epic in its youth, and thus it is of high importance to note the love that they show for a long sweep of narrative, for a persistent onward movement until a close is reached that can be felt as really final. The Njala, the Laxdæla, the saga of Gisli, all these indeed carry the tale as far as it will go, to the very death of their chief characters. They do not demand, they are hardly susceptible of, a later "conclusion": it is clear that here, at least, what is wanted for further development is not addition, so much as selection and omission. The sagaman's danger now is that he will go on with his story too long, not that he will stop too soon: he cannot be content as a rule until he has come to his hero's grave. Only too often Epic in its childhood will want, like other children, to begin at the beginning and go on to the end, as Horace was not slow to perceive. This tendency should at least be borne in mind when we are asked to believe that it is natural to Epic at this stage to stop with an abrupt, ragged ending, such as that imagined by the critics who would close the original Iliad with the picture of Hector's mangled body lying outraged on the field, with no answer to the question whether vengeance was ever taken or atonement ever made.

And the further question, the more interesting question, whether we may take it as likely that the heroic Epic would be content to close on a note of ferocity and cruelty, that

too may find some answer from a study of the conception that binds together the second division of the Njala. For this is nothing more nor less than the progress of a life-and-death quarrel between brave foes, on through wrong and vengeance to peace and reconciliation. Flosi, noble-hearted but passionate, is dragged into a truceless strife with the sons of Njal and their kin. When his blood is up he does a shameful deed, a deed just as outrageous as the most savage act of Achilles. Flosi never deceives himself about it: he knows quite well what he is doing when he burns Njal and his men in their house. One man gets away, Njal's son-in-law, the dauntless Kari. The case is brought before the Althing and goes against the Burners. Flosi is to pay fines and be banished for a term and make a pilgrimage to Rome. The rest of Njal's kin take the atonement, but Kari will have none of these half-measures: he stands out for his right of private vengeance, his hand against the Burners, and theirs, if they so choose, against him. He cuts them down wherever he meets them, all except Flosi, and always sends Flosi word of what he has done. Flosi never lifts his hand against Kari, never utters a word of anger. When Kari is blamed he answers, "There is no man left in Iceland like him, and I wish my mind were shapen altogether like his." It is he that stands up for Kari in the hall of Sigurd the Earl, when Kari cuts down one of the Burners before Sigurd's face, and the Earl would have vengeance taken on the spot. "Then Flosi spoke and said, 'Kari is in no atonement with us, and he only did what he had a right to do.'"

Step by step the two noble foes are drawing nearer each other. At last Kari, sailing home to Iceland in the autumn, is wrecked on the coast, on the very land of Swinefell, Flosi's home (Njal, c. 158).

"Their ship was dashed all in pieces, but the men's lives were saved. Then, too, a gale of wind came on them.

"Now they ask Kari what counsel was to be taken; but

he said their best plan was to go to Swinefell and put Flosi's manhood to the proof.

"So they went right up to Swinefell in the storm. Flosi was in the hall. He knew Kari as soon as ever he came into the hall, and sprang up to meet him, and kissed him, and sate him down in the high seat by his side.

"Flosi asked Kari to be there with him that winter, and Kari took his offer. Then they were atoned with a full atonement."

Is not this the same metal, though in the rough ore, as the gold that is worked into the perfect ring of the twenty-fourth Iliad? And for the Icelandic it could not be suggested that the last chapter is a later addition to the tale, designed to bring it into harmony with the feelings of a more civilised age. Throughout all the sagas indeed, the perpetual union of savagery and chivalry, of fierceness and tenderness, has a direct bearing on the question of the Homeric temper. Skarphedinn, "the most soldier-like of men," stops in mid-fight to give his life to the lad who lives to be his deadliest foe, gives it, though he knows the danger, because the boy's brother is his friend. "I cannot find it in my heart to do both: help Hogni and slay his brother." And the sagaman's exultant sympathy with Skarphedinn's exploits does not prevent his even deeper sympathy with Hauskuld the priest of Whiteness, whom Skarphedinn, misled by slander, killed "for less than no cause," and who "said these words as he fell, 'God help me, and forgive you!'" (Njal, cc. 91, 110).

Passion may sweep aside the sense of right and wrong for the time, but in a generous heart that sense will always return, and the sagamen know this well. It is shameful to mutilate the dead, and yet it can be done in the flush of a fierce triumph, as it is done by the slayers of Grettir. Yet they know the greatness of the man they have killed. "We have laid a mighty warrior low," they say, just as Achilles says of Hector, in the very midst of the outrage.

And the Icelanders would have understood the taunt in the same hour over the fallen hero: "He is softer to handle now than when he fired the ships" (Il. xxii. 373, 374). The saga indeed has almost the same words (though not uttered as a taunt) about the dead Skarphedinn: "All men said that they thought it better to be near Skarphedinn dead than they weened, for no man was afraid of him" (Njal, c. 131).[1] But if that passage recalls the grimness of the twenty-second Iliad, in the very same chapter we have a picture that brings to mind the peace of the twenty-fourth, where Hector lies at rest, with his wounds closed and the dew of heaven on his limbs, a sign that the gods had watched over him (Il. xxiv. 750 ff.). Njal's body is found in death after the Burning, unburnt, and brighter than could be said: "All men praised God for this and thought it a great token." The saga finds no difficulty in combining the two points of view. And we too, when we read the tales, we seem to realise that, at least in the high moods of poetry, the more the heart is fired by the real glory of passion and of battle, the better it can understand the greater glory of generosity, pity, and reconciliation.

[1] Noticed by Leaf, "Iliad," *ad loc.*

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ILIAD

CONSPECTUS OF THE ORIGINAL AND THE ADDITIONS

Original. (*First Part*, c. 2,700 lines.)	*Additions.*
Book i. 1–611 end. The Quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon. Achilles retires from the War.	
Book ii. 1–92, 455–483, 761–815. Agamemnon's Dream. The Arming of the Greeks. The Arming of the Trojans.	Book ii. 93–454, 484–760, 816–877 end. The Abortive Assembly. The Catalogue of the Ships. The Trojan Catalogue.
Book iii. 1–461 end. Paris and Menelaus, The Oaths. Helen and Priam on the Walls. Helen and Paris in Troy.	
Book iv. 1–544 end. The Breaking of the Oaths. The Review by Agamemnon. The Opening of Battle.	
Book v. 1–126, 133–329, 471–505. The Prowess of Diomede.	Book v. 127–132, 330–470, 506–909 end (and l. i. of Book vi.). Extension of the "Diomedeia."
Book vi. 2–529 end. Hector and Andromache in Troy.	

Original.	*Additions.*
(*Second Part*, c. 3,500 lines.)	
{ Book vii. 1–7. { Book xi. 62–848 end. The Return of Paris and Hector to the Field. The Greek Rout.	Book vii. 8–482 end. Abortive Duel between Hector and Ajax. Building of the Wall and Abortive Proposals about Helen. Burial of the Dead.
	Book viii. 1–565 end. Abortive Fight.
	Book ix. 1–713 end. Abortive Embassy to Achilles.
	Book x. 1–579 end. Episode of the Doloneia.
	Book xi. 1–61. Connecting Prologue to "the Greek Rout."
Book xii. 1–6*a*, 37*b*–107, 196–471 end. The Fight at the Wall.	Book xii. 7*b*–37*a*, 108–195. Digression about the Wall. Abortive attack of Asius.
	{ Book xiii. 1–837 end. { Book xiv. 1–522 end. { Book v. 1–389. Abortive Rally of the Greeks under Poseidon. Abortive Beguiling of Zeus.
Book xv. 390–746 end. The Fight at the Ships.	
Book xvi. 1–867 end. The Appeal of Patroclus to Achilles. Patroclus to the Rescue. The Death of Patroclus.	
Book xvii. 1–458, 593–761 end. The Fight over Patroclus.	Book xvii. 459–592. Abortive attack on the Horses of Achilles.

Original.	*Additions.*
Book xviii. 1–617 end. Achilles hears the News. The dead Patroclus brought in to the Camp. The Making of the Armour.	
(*Third Part*, c. 2,700 lines.)	
Book xix. 1–139, 270–277, 303–424 end. The Reconciliation between Achilles and Agamemnon.	Book xix. 140–269, 278–302. Additions connected with the Embassy in ix.
Book xx. 381–503 end. Book xxi. 1–135, l. 227, 522–611 end. Achilles comes back to the Field. The Trojan Rout. The Death of Lycaon.	Book xx. 1–380. Prologue to the Battle of the Gods (xxi.). Abortive Fighting (Achilles and Æneas).
	Book xxi. 136–521. The Death of Asteropaius. The Fight with the River. The Battle of the Gods.
Book xxii. 1–515 end. The Death of Hector.	
Book xxiii. 1–797, 884–897 end. The Funeral of Patroclus.	Book xxiii. 798–883. Additional Funeral Games.
Book xxiv. 1–804 end. The Ransoming of Hector's Body.	

Bulk of the Original Iliad, c. 9,000 lines.
Bulk of the Additions, c. 6,700 lines.

For the sake of simplicity I have omitted to note in "the Original" any interpolations that do not amount to a score of lines.

APPENDIX B (1)

COMPARATIVE ODYSSEAN LINES AND PHRASES FROM A AND Ω (Il. i. and xxiv.)

"Odyssean" lines, half-lines, and significant phrases from A (Il. i.), omitting lines 430*b*–489, thus leaving 611 – 60 lines = 551 lines. 102 "Odyssean" instances. (The doubtful instances are bracketed, but included, unless expressly noted, in the enumeration.)

141. ἄγε νῆα μέλαιναν ἐρύσσομεν εἰς ἅλα δῖαν. θ 34.
303. αἶψά τοι (οἱ) αἷμα κελαινὸν ἐρωήσει περὶ δουρί. π 441.
512. ἀλλ' ἀκέων. ν 385, and 4 other times.
(116. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἐθέλω. ε 219. But often ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς in Iliad and Odyssey.)
274. ἀλλὰ πίθεσθε (– σθ' A 259). λ 345.
(604. ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ. ω 60. But the Odyssean passage is probably an interpolation: "the funeral of Achilles.")
312. ἀναβάντες ἐπέπλεον ὑγρὰ κέλευθα. δ 842, ο 474. (With οἱ μὲν ἔπειτ' A 312, ο 474.)
(136. ἀντάξιον (Odyssey ἄξιον) ἔσται. α 318, θ 405. But Ψ 562, Original, ἄξιος ἔσται.)
(538, 556. ἀργυρόπεζα Θέτις. ω 92, an interpolation. Elsewhere Θέτις ἀργυροπέζα, and only in the Original Iliad and I 410.)
599. ἄσβεστος δ' ἄρ' ἐνῶρτο γέλως μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν. θ 326.
(386. αὐτίκ' ἐγώ(ν). ν 272, θ 497.)
103–4. ἀχνύμενος· μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφιμέλαιναι | πίμπλαντ', ὅσσε δέ οἱ πυρὶ λαμπετόωντι ἐΐκτην. δ 661–2.
430*a*. βίῃ ἀέκοντος ἀπηύρων. δ 646 (ἀπήυρα).
610. γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἱκάνοι. ι 333, τ 49.
513. δεύτερον αὖτις. γ 161, ι 354, τ 65, χ 69.
5. Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. λ 297.
(311. ἔβη πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς. β 173. But πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς elsewhere in Iliad.)
183. ἐγὼ σὺν νηί τ' ἐμῇ καί ἑμοῖς ἑτάροισιν. ι 173.
48. ἕζετ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε (νεῶν). ζ 236 (κίων). *Cp.* A 35, ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε κίων.

(524. εἰ δ' ἄγε τοι. ι 37, ω 336. But εἰ δ' ἄγε is probably a characteristic phrase of the Odyssey and the Original Iliad at large. See *ad voc.*, Appendix C.)

393. εἰ δύνασαί. π 256.

311. εἶσεν ἄγων. α 130.

(541. ἐμεῦ ἀπονόσφιν ἐόντα (−τος). σ 268. But the constructions differ.)

252. ἐν Πύλῳ ἠγαθέῃ. δ 599 (*cp.* λ 257, 459).

611. ἔνθα καθεῦδ' (−δε). ζ 1, η 344. καθεύδω nowhere else in Iliad.

610. ἔνθα πάρος κοιμᾶθ' ὅτε μιν γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἱκάνοι. τ 49 (see above on γλυκὺς κτλ).

(30. ἐνὶ οἴκῳ. *Passim* in Odyssey.)

(6. ἐξ οὗ δή. ξ 379.)

416. ἐπεὶ νύ τοι (μοι) αἶσα. ο 276.

(142, 309. ἐς δ' ἐρέτας. π 349.)

576. ἐσθλῆς ἔσσεται ἥδος, ἐπεὶ τὰ χερείονα νικᾷ. σ 403. (οὐδέ τι δαιτὸς prefixed in both.)

(293. ἦ γάρ κεν. υ 306.)

57–8. ἠγερθεν ὁμηγερέες τ' ἐγένοντο, τοῖσι δ' (−σιν δ').[1] θ 24–5, ω 421 *f.*

537. ἠγνοίησεν ἰδοῦσ' (−σα). ε 78. (οὐδέ μιν prefixed in both.)

(194. ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη. γ 435.)

(339. θεῶν μακάρων. θ 281, ι 276, 521.)

316, 327. θῖν' ἁλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο. θ 49, κ 179 (with παρὰ, A 316, 327, 34, κ 179).

300. θοῇ παρὰ νηὶ μελαίνῃ. ο 258 (*cp.* μ 292, γ 61, κ 332, but also T 331).

(147. ἱερὰ ῥέξας (−ζων, −ζον). α 61, γ 5.)

31. ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένην (−νης, −νῃ). ε 62, κ 222.

88. καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ δερκομένοιο. π 439. The only two cases of the *abs.* use.

(217. καὶ μάλα περ. θ 316. But καὶ μάλα τειρόμενοί περ Z 85, Original.)

(269. καὶ μὲν τοῖσιν (τοῖς). ξ 88. But also καὶ μὲν, with other pronl. forms, Z 194, 27, Ψ 174, all Original, and τ 244, κ 13.)

306. καὶ νῆας (−ες) εἴσας (−ῖσαι). ξ 271, η 43.

321. καὶ ὀτρηρὼ (−ροὶ) θεράποντε (−ες). α 109.

426. καὶ τότ' ἔπειτα. ι 438. *Cp.* ε 391, μ 400, δ 415, ψ 195. (But also A 478.)

(606. (οἱ μὲν) κακκείοντες ἔβαν οἰκόνδε ἕκαστος. α 424. And, with οἱ μὲν, ν 17, γ 396, η 229. But *cp.* Ψ 58, Original.)

[1] Ω 790 can hardly be right, and is absent in many MSS.

(40. κατὰ πίονα μηρί' ἔκηα (– εν). δ 764. But κατὰ πίονα μηρία καίων, O 373.)
598. κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων. ι 9.
92. μάντις ἀμύμων. λ 99, 291.
(388. μῦθον, ὃ δὴ. δ 777.)
308. νῆα θοὴν ἄλαδε (– δ'). β 389.
(71. νήεσσ' ἠγήσατ' (– σθαι). ξ 238. But the Odyssean construction differs.)
(47. νυκτὶ ἐοικώς. λ 606. But the Odyssean passage is probably an interpolation.)
272. νῦν βροτοί εἰσιν. θ 222.
(555. νῦν δ' αἰνῶς δείδοικα κατὰ φρένα μή. ω 353. But ταῦτ' αἰνῶς δείδοικα κατὰ φρένα μὴ, I 244.)
536. ὃ μὲν ἔνθα καθέζετ' ἐπὶ θρόνου. ε 195.
(179. οἴκαδ' ἰὼν (ἰόντα). β 179, ξ 181, π 463. But οἴκαδ' ἱκέσθαι, A, Ω, Iliad and Odyssey, *passim*.)
353. 'Ολύμπιος ἐγγυαλίξαι. ψ 140 (ἐγγυαλίζῃ).
187. ὁμοιωθήμεναι ἄντην. γ 120. The only two instances of the verb.
139. ὅν κεν ἵκωμαι. ο 345 (ἵκηται).
115. οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φυὴν. ε 212, η 210.
173. οὐδέ (οὔτι) σ' ἔγω γε. τ 474, ο 68.
(534–5. οὐδέ τις ἔτλη | μεῖναι. ξ 269–70. But οὐδέ τις ἔτλη, *passim*, Iliad and Odyssey.)
490. οὔτε ποτ' εἰς (εἰν) ἀγορὴν (– ρῇ). γ 127.
(298. οὗτοι ἔγωγε. ι 27. But also οὗτοι ἐγὼ (– γων), Z 335, P 175, Original.)
(524. ὄφρα πεποίθῃς (– θω). ν 344, ω 329.)
273. πέιθοντό τε μύθῳ. ρ 177.
129. πόλιν Τροίην. λ 510.
(91. πολλὸν ἄριστος. ο 521.)
245. ποτὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον βάλε γαίῃ. β 80.
178. – που σοὶ τό γ' (τά γ') ἔδωκεν (– κε). ζ 190.
(562. πρῆξαι δ' ἔμπης οὔ τι δυνήσεαι (– ται). β 191, but the line may be interpolated.)
319. πρῶτον ἐπηπήλεισ' (– σε). ν 127.
279. σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεὺς. β 231, ε 9. (But also *plur.* B 86 (the Menis), θ 41.)
540, 537. (τίς δὴ αὖ τοι, δολομῆτα, θεῶν) συμφράσσατο βουλάς; δ 462 (τίς νύ τοι, 'Ατρέος υἷε, θεῶν) συμφράσσατο βουλάς;
(170. σὺν νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν. τ 193. But παρὰ ν. κ. elsewhere Iliad.)
179. σὺν νηυσί (νηΐ) τε σῇς (σῇ) καὶ σοῖς ἑτάροισιν. γ 323.
204. τελέεσθαι ὀΐω. γ 226, χ 215, α 201, ο 173.
270. τηλόθεν ἐξ ἀπίης γαίης. η 25.
(183. τὴν μὲν ἐγὼ. λ 87.)

(544. τὴν δ' ἠμείβετ' ἔπειτα πατὴρ. ω 280 (τὸν δ'). But without πατὴρ, common both in Iliad and Odyssey.)
233. –τοι ἐρέω, καὶ ἐπὶ μέγαν ὅρκον ὀμοῦμαι. υ 229.
76. τοιγὰρ ἐγὼν ἐρέω· σὺ δὲ σύνθεο, καί μοι (μευ). π 259. (But *cp.* Z 334, Original.)
251. τράφεν ἠδ' ἐγένοντο. δ 723, κ 417, ξ 201.
(250. τῳ δ' ἤδη. τ 192.)
531. τώ γ' ὡς βουλεύσαντε διέτμαγεν· ἡ μὲν ἔπειτα. γ 439.
592. φερόμην, ἅμα δ' ἠελίῳ. μ 429.
(186. φέρτερός εἰμι. φ 371.)
491. φθινύθεσκε (–θουσι) φίλον κῆρ. κ 485.
89. χεῖρας ἐποίσει. π 438.
567. χεῖρας ἐφείω (–η). α 254; *cp.* ν 376, υ 29, 39, 386, ψ 37.
(244. χωόμενος ὅ τ' (ὅτι). θ 238, λ 102, ν 342.)
414. ὤ μοι, τέκνον ἐμόν. λ 216.
211. ὡς ἔσεταί περ. τ 312, φ 212.
(600. ὡς ἴδον (–δεν) Ἥφαιστον. θ 286. Perhaps an interpolation in the Odyssey.)
32. ὥς κε νέηαι (–ται). α 205, 87, ε 31.
(584. ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη, καὶ. χ 465, ρ 409, 462. But often ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη, . . . δὲ, both in Iliad and Odyssey.)
536. ὣς ὃ μὲν ἔνθα. 8 times in Odyssey.
601. ὣς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἦμαρ ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα.
δαίνυντ', οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς ἐίσης.
τ 424. *Cp.* ι 161, 556, κ 183, 475, μ 28.
(357. ὣς φάτο δάκρυ χέων. ω 438. But ὣς φάτο common both in Iliad and Odyssey.)
(366. ᾠχόμεθ' ἐς. ρ 109.)

"Odyssean" lines, half-lines, and significant phrases from Ω (Il. xxiv.). 804 lines. 126 instances.

227. ἀγκὰς ἑλόντ' (ἑλών). η 252. (This is not given by Schmidt.)
(283. ἀγχίμολον δέ σφ' ἦλθε. Odyssey 5 times. But with οἱ for σφε, Δ 529, Π 820, ο 95. Π 820 has also ῥα for δέ.)
(32. ἀθανάτοισι μετήυδα. α 31 (with ἔπε' prefixed), μ 376.)
647. αἱ δ' ἴσαν ἐκ μεγάροιο δάος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαι. δ 300, η 339, χ 497.
(63. αἰὲν ἄπιστε (*untrustworthy*), αἰὲν ἄπιστος (*unbelieving*). ξ 150, ψ 72.)
407. (πᾶσαν) ἀληθείην καταλέξον. With –λέξω and –λέξα 6 times in Odyssey. (*Cp.* πᾶσαν ἀληθείην, λ 507.)
(407. ἄγε δή μοι. 4 times in Odyssey. But also ἄγε δή οἱ, Ψ 537.)
(380, 656. ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον. 12 times

in Odyssey. But also in K 384, 405. And in Λ 819 (*the Menis*) ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπέ.)

(503. ἀλλ' αἰδεῖο θεοὺς. ι 269. ἀλλ' αἰδεῖο, φέριστε, θεούς.)

(490. ἀλλ' ἤ τοι κεῖνός γε. λ 118 (κείνων). And *cp.* I 701.)

106. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὣς ἐρέω. τ 171, 224.

(768. ἄλλος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν. τ 486.)

(572. ἅλτο θύραζε. φ 388.)

189 (266). ἄμαξαν εὐτροχον ἡμιονείην. ζ 72.

588. ἀμφὶ δέ μιν φᾶρος καλὸν βάλον ἠδὲ χιτῶνα. γ 467, ψ 155. (Ω 587 *f.* τὸν δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν δμωαὶ λοῦσαν καὶ χρῖσαν ἐλαίῳ. θ 454 *f.*)

(302. ἀμφίπολον ταμίην. π 152. But γύνη ταμίη, Z 370, Original.)

(213. ἄντιτα ἔργα. ρ 51, 60. But the reading is highly doubtful. There may, however, be a correspondence between 213, ἔργα γένοιτο, and τ 391, ἔργα γένοιτο.)

(369. ἄνδρ' ἀπαμύνασθαι, ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ. π 71, φ 132. But we have a similar line, only with ἀπαρέσσασθαι, in T 183.)

(382. ἄνδρας ἐς ἀλλοδαπούς. ξ 231, υ 220.)

8. ἀνδρῶν τε πτολέμους ἀλεγεινά τε κύματα πείρων. θ 183, ν 91, 264.

(318. ἀνέρος ἀφνειοῖο. ξ 200.)

578. ἀπ' ἀπήνης. ζ 90. (ἐπ' ἀπήνης, Ω 275, 447, and ζ 252.)

(211. ἀπάνευθε τοκήων. ι 36.)

(468 (694). ἀπέβη πρὸς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον. ο 43. But μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον elsewhere Iliad.)

(609. ἀπὸ πάντας ὄλεσσαν. τ 81, πᾶσαν ὀλέσσῃς. But also ἀπὸ θυμὸν ὄλεσσεν, Θ 90, &c.)

(262. ἀρνῶν ἠδ' ἐρίφων. ι 220, ρ 242, τ 398, but with a different use of the genitive. And Π 352 has ἄρνεσσιν . . . ἢ ἐρίφοιν.)

(633. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τάρπησαν. δ 47, κ 181. But also αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τάρπημεν, Λ 780.)

(17. αὖτις ἐνὶ. δ 549.)

(558. (αὐτόν τε) ζώειν καὶ ὁρᾶν φάος ἠελίοιο. ν 360, π 388 (δ 540, κ 498). But the line from Ω is wanting in good MSS., and is very unsatisfactory in sense. Monro brackets it in his text.)

(418. αὐτὸς ἐπελθών. β 246, ρ 382, ω 506, π 197, ψ 185.)

321. γήθησαν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸς ἰάνθη. ο 164 (οἱ δὲ ἴδοντες prefixed in both).

26. γλαυκώπιδι κούρῃ. β 433, ω 518. But γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη often in Iliad, *e.g.* E 29, B 279.

200. (κώκυσεν δὲ) γύνη καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳ. ο 434, 439. (*Cp.* Ω 424, ζ 67.)

802. (δαίνυντ') ἐρικυδέα δαῖτα. ν 26, γ 66, υ 280 (κ 182).
(794. δάκρυ παρειῶν. δ 198, 223. But δεδάκρυνται δὲ παρειαί, X 491.)
672. δείσει' (–σασ'–) ἐνὶ θυμῷ. π 331.
(376. δέμας καὶ εἶδος ἀγητὸς (–τὸν). ξ 177. But φύην καὶ εἶδος ἀγητὸν, X 370 [*the Menis*].)
644–647. (See above, αἱ δ' ἴσαν κτλ)—
δέμνι' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ θέμεναι καὶ ῥήγεα καλὰ
πορφύρε' ἐμβαλέειν, στορέσαι τ' ἐφύπερθε τάπητας,
χλαίνας τ' ἐνθέμεναι οὔλας καθύπερθεν ἔσασθαι
αἱ δ' ἴσαν ἐκ μεγάροιο δάος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαι.
δ 296–300, η 336–339. (γ 351.) (And *cp.* Ω 648, λέχε' ἐγκονέουσαι, and η 340, λέχος ἐγκονέουσαι.)
230*f.* δώδεκα δ' ἁπλοΐδας χλαίνας, τόσσους δὲ τάπητας,
τόσσα δὲ φάρεα καλὰ, τόσους δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι χιτῶνας. ω 276*f.*
(Ω 229 ἔνθεν δώδεκα μὲν . . . χ 144.)
603. δώδεκα παῖδες ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν (–ροις), ἓξ μὲν θυγατέρες ἓξ δ' υἱέες ἡβώοντες. κ 5, 6.
(59. ἐγὼ αὐτὴ. π 170.)
343. εἵλετο δὲ ῥαβδὸν, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν ὄμματα θέλγει
ὧν ἐθέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτοὺς καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει.
ε 47, 48 (ω 2–4). (But *cp.* the context under ὑπὸ ποσσὶν and under πρῶτον ὑπηνήτῃ.) This is not given at sufficient length by Schmidt.
597. ἕζετο δ' ἐν κλισμῷ. δ 136.
(56. εἴη κεν καὶ τοῦτο. ο 435.)
(92. εἶμι μὲν, οὐδ'. β 318.)
535. ἐκ γενετῆς. σ 6.
323. ἐκ δ' ἔλασε προθύροιο καὶ αἰθούσης ἐριδούπου. ο 146, 191.
(426. ἐμὸς πᾶις, εἴποτ' ἔην γε. ω 289 (ἐμὸν παῖδ'). But also εἴποτ' ἔην γε, Γ 180.)
568. ἐν ἄλγεσι θυμὸν (–μὸς). φ 88.
(281. ἐν δώμασιν ὑψηλοῖσιν. φ 33.)
614. ἐν πέτρῃσιν (–σι). ε 156.
597. ἔνθεν ἀνέστη. ε 195, σ 157, φ 139, 166, ψ 164.
124. ἐντύνοντο ἄριστον. π 2.
765, 766. (ἐεικοστὸν) ἔτος ἐστιν, ἐξ οὗ κεῖθεν ἔβην (–βη) καὶ ἐμῆς ἀπελήλυθα (–θε) πάτρης. τ 222, 223, ω 309, 310.
333. Ἑρμείαν, υἱὸν φίλον, ἀντίον ηὔδα, | Ἑρμεία. ε 28.
694. Ἑρμείας μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀπέβη πρὸς μάκρον Ὄλυμπον. κ 307.
Cp. above on ἀπέβη.
484. ἐς ἀλλήλους δὲ ἴδοντο. σ 320 (ἀλλήλας).
633. ἐς ἀλλήλους ὁρόωντες. υ 373.
553. ἐς θρόνον ἷζε. θ 469.
476. ἔσθων καὶ πίνων. κ 272, υ 337.

(575. ἑτάρων μετὰ Πάτροκλόν γε θάνοντα. ω 79. But the Odyssean passage is from an interpolation: the Funeral of Achilles.)

275, 590. ἐυξέστης (–στην, –στῳ) ἐπ' ἀπήνης (–νην, –νῃ). ζ 75.

24, 109. ἐΰσκοπον (–σκόπῳ) 'Αργειφόντην (–τῃ). α 38, η 137. (But διάκτορος 'Αργειφόντης, also Ω, Φ, B, and Odyssey.)

263. ἐφοπλίσσαιτε (–ωσι) τάχιστα. ω 360.

277. ξεῦξαν δ' ἡμιόνους κρατερώνυχας. ζ 253.

126. ἡ δὲ μαλ' ἄγχι. ζ 56.

241. ἦ ὀνόσασθ' (ὀνόσαι) ὅτι μοι (τοι). ρ 378.

(302. ἦ ῥα καὶ ἀμφίπολον (–πόλοισιν). ζ 198. But ἦ ῥα καὶ ἀμφοτέρῃσιν. E 416 and ρ 356.)

209. ἥμενοι (–ναι) ἐν μεγάρῳ. σ 316. (τ 322, φ 100.)

150. 179. ἡμιόνους καὶ ἄμαξαν. ζ 37, 260.

(788. ἦμος δ' ἠριγένεια φάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος 'Ηώς. Odyssey *passim*. But also A 477.)

(9. θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυδν εἶβεν (εἴβων). λ 391. But *cp.* Z 496, θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυ χέουσα, with δ 556, κ 409, 201, 570, λ 5, 466, and μ 12.)

49. θέσαν ἀνθρώποισιν. λ 274.

382. ἵνα περ τάδε τοι σόα μιμνῇ. ν 364.

264. ἵνα πρήσσωμεν ὁδοῖο; Ὣς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα. γ 476, ο 219.

450. καθύπερθεν ἔρεψαν. ψ 193 (ἔρεψα).

38. καὶ ἐπὶ κτέρεα κτερίσαιεν (–σειεν). γ 285 (β 222, α 291).

(36. καὶ τέκεϊ ᾧ. δ 175.)

(429. καλὸν ἄλεισον. δ 591, χ 9.)

(101. καλὸν δέπας. γ 63.)

(379. κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπες· | ἀλλ' ἄγε. β 251, ν 385, χ 486. But without ἀλλ' ἄγε, A 286.)

(458. κλυτὰ δῶρα, and θ 417. But κλυτὰ τεύχεα often in Iliad, and μ 228.)

(524. κρυεροῖο γόοιο. δ 103. But also as a v. l. in Ψ 98.)

555. λῦσον, ἵν' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδω. κ 387.

99. μάκαρες θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες. ε 7, θ 306, μ 371, 377. But also μάκαρες θεοί, A 406 (*the Menis*), Υ 54 (*Theomachia*), Ω 23, 422, and ζ 46, ο 372.

409. μελεϊστὶ ταμὼν. ι 291, σ 339 (τάμῃσιν). (This is not given by Schmidt.)

4 *f.* –μιν ὕπνος | ἥρει πανδαμάτωρ. ι 372 *f.*

396. νηῦς εὐεργής. μ 166, π 322.

(560. νοέω δὲ καὶ αὐτός. φ 257 νοέεις; but the construction differs.)

(202. οἷσιν ἀνάσσεις (–σεν). δ 9, β 234, ε 120.)

673. οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐν προδόμῳ δόμου αὐτόθι κοιμήσαντο. δ 302.

284–86. οἶνον ἔχουσ' (– χων) ἐν χειρὶ μελίφρονα δεξιτερῆφιν,
χρυσέῳ ἐν δέπαϊ (ἐν δέπαϊ χρύσεῳ), ὄφρα λείψαντε κιοίτην
στῆ δ' ἵππων προπάροιθεν (– θε).
ο 148–150.

(662. οἶσθα γὰρ ὥς. ψ 60.)

(651. οἵ τε μοι αἰεὶ. δ 319.)

758. οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεσσιν ἐποιχόμενος (– η) κατέπεφνεν. 5 times in Odyssey.

543. ὄλβιον (– ος) εἶναι. ρ 354, σ 138.

(73. ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ. ω 63. But this is in the interpolation.)

29. ὅτε οἱ μέσσαυλον ἵκοντο. κ 435.

(431. ὄφρα κεν ἐς. τ 17.)

(350. ὄφρα πίοιεν (– μι). κ 316.)

635, 636. ὄφρα κεν ἤδη
ὕπνῳ ὑπὸ γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντες (– τε).
δ 294, ψ 254 (Od. ὄφρα καί).

105. πένθος ἄλαστον. α 342.

546. πλούτῳ τε καὶ υἱάσι. ξ 206. (This is not given by Schmidt.)

328. πόλλ' ὀλοφυρόμενοι (– νος). ν 221.

348. πρῶτον ὑπηνήτῃ τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἥβη. κ 278.

282, 674. πυκινὰ φρεσὶ μήδε' ἔχοντες (– ουσα). τ 353.

(519. πῶς ἔτλης. λ 475.)

567. ῥεῖα μετοχλίσσειε (– εν). ψ 188.

772. σῇ (σή) τ' ἀγανοφροσύνῃ (νη). λ 203.

(557. σὴν ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν. *Passim* in Odyssey. But ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν common in Iliad.)

385. σὸς παῖς· οὐ μὲν γάρ τι. δ 807.

33. σχέτλιοί ἐστε, θεοὶ, δηλήμονες. ε 118 (ξηλήμονες).

153. τοῖον γάρ οἱ πομπὸν. δ 826 (τοίη . . . πομπὸς). (*Cp.* Ω 182 and β 286.)

(256, 494. Τροίῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ. α 62, δ 99, ε 307. But also N 433, Ω 774, ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εὐρείῃ, λ 499, μ 189.)

492. (ἀπὸ) Τροίηθεν ἴοντα. γ 257, 276, δ 488, ι 38.

340 *ff.* (ἔπειθ') ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα
ἀμβρόσια, χρύσεια, τά μιν φέρον ἠμὲν ἐφ' ὑγρὴν
ἠδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν ἅμα πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο.
ο 550, α 96, ε 44, ρ 2 (*ff.*).

353. φάτο φώνησέν τε. δ 370. But φώνησέν τε, both Iliad and Odyssey very frequently.

309. φίλον ἐλθεῖν ἠδ' ἐλεεινόν. ζ 327.

(749. φίλος ἦσθα θεοῖσιν. ω 92, but this is from the Odyssean interpolation.)

40. φρένες εἰσὶν ἐναίσιμοι οὔτε (– δὲ) νόημα. σ 220.

197. φρεσὶν εἴδεται εἶναι. ι 11 (ἐν φρεσὶν, Odyssey).

304. (ἡ δὲ παρέστη)
χέρνιβον ἀμφίπολος πρόχοόν θ' ἅμα χερσὶν ἔχουσα. Expanded and altered in Odyssey :—
e.g. χέρνιβα δ' ἀμφίπολος προχόῳ ἐπέχευε φέρουσα
καλῇ χρυσείῃ, &c.
η 172–76, κ 368–72, &c., and in 4 other places.

460. ὦ γέρον, ἦ τοι. γ 331. *Cp.* Ω 683, 411. β 40, ω 244, γ 226.

335. ᾧ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα. σ 270. (β 128, φ 280.)

200. ὣς φάτο, κώκυσεν δὲ. β 361. But ὣς φάτο common all through both Iliad and Odyssey.

507. ὣς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἄρα πατρὸς ὑφ' ἵμερον ὦρσε γόοιο. δ 113. (But ὣς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἄρα, Λ 804, *the Menis.*)

APPENDIX B (2)

COMPARATIVE LIST OF ODYSSEAN WORDS

IN

Iliad xxii. X 1–404 (*the Menis*)
(26 words)

AND IN

Iliad xxiv. Ω 1–804
(46, *or* 50, words)

* Words occurring in the "Odyssean" lines already quoted (Appendix B (1).

Il. xxii. 1–404.

386. ἄθαπτος. λ 54, 72.

386. ἄκλαυτος. λ 54, 72. (δ 494 act.)

310. ἀμαλός. υ 14.

373. ἀμφαφάω. 6 times in Od.

255. ἁρμονίη. ε 348, 361 (lit. in Od., metaph. in Il.).

94. βιβρώσκω. χ 403, β 203.

Il. xxiv. 1–804.

*772. ἀγανοφροσύνη. (But ἀγανόφρων in Υ 467, *the Menis.*) λ 203.

464. ἀγαπάζω. 5 times in Od.

19. ἀεικείη. υ 308.

529. ἀναμίσγω. (But v. l. καμμίξας.) κ 255.

365. ἀναρσιος. κ 459, ξ 85, λ 401, 408, ω 111.

*230. ἁπλοΐς. ω 276.

388. ἄποτμος. υ 140, α 219.

621. ἄργυφος. κ 85. (But ἀργύφεος, Σ 506 and ε 230, κ 543.)

*535. γενετή. σ 6.

539. γόνη. δ 755.

*647. δάος (in a set formula). δ 300, η 339, χ 497.

*644. δέμνιον (in a set formula). Od. *passim.*

Il. xxii. 1–404.

44. εὖνις. ι 524.

318. ἕσπερος (adj.). ρ 191. (ἕσπερος is also used as noun, "Evening," in the Od. alone.)

151. θέρος. η 118, μ 76, λ 192.

339. καταδάπτω, with κύνες, as in γ 259 (π 92 metaphorl.).

120. κατακρύπτω. 5 times in Od. ι 329, ο 469, ψ 372, δ 247, η 205.

288. καταφθίω. 5 times in Od.

293. κατηφέω. π 342.

247. κερδοσύνη. δ 251, ξ 31.

152. κρυσταλλός. ξ 477.

358. μήνιμα. λ 73.

139, 308. οἰμάω. ω 538. (Repeats the Iliadic phrase in X 308.)

27. ὀπώρη. λ 192, μ 76, ξ 384.

93. ὀρέστερος. κ 212.

Il. xxiv. 1–804.

*33. δηλήμονες. σ 85, 116, φ 308.

*648. ἐγκονέουσαι. η 340, ψ 291.

*765. ἐεικοστός. τ 222, ψ 102, 170, β 175, ρ 327, ζ 170.

582. ἐκκαλέω. κ 471, ω 1.

270. ἐννεάπηχυς. λ 311.

235. ἐξεσίη. φ 20.

525. ἐπικλώθω. α 17, π 64, γ 208, δ 208, υ 196, θ 579.

*24, 109. εὔσκοπος (as a fixed epithet of Hermes). α 38, η 137.

223. ἐσδέρκομαι. ι 146 (τ 476).

*189, 266, 268. ἡμιόνειος (of the waggon). ζ 72.

221. θυοσκοός. φ 145, χ 318, 321.

257. ἱπποχάρμης. λ 259.

798. καταστορέννομι. ρ 32. And twice in tmesi, ν 73, υ 2.

717. κλαθυμός. 6 times in Od.

655. λύσις νεκροῦ. ι 421 θανάτου λύσις (slightly different use).

*409. μελειστί (with ταμών). ι 291, σ 339.

567. μετοχλίσσειε. ψ 188.

543. ὄλβιος. Often in Od. (But also ὀλβιοδαίμων in Γ 182.)

*5. πανδαμάτωρ (with ὕπνος). ι 373.

Il. xxii. 1–404.

153. πλυνός. ζ 40, 86.
155. πλύνω. 5 times in Od.
221. προπροκυλινδόμενος. ρ 525 (slightly different sense).
356. προτιόσσομαι. η 31. (*Cp.* ε 389, ξ 129.)
396. τετραίνω. ε 247, ψ 198.
19. τίσις. β 76, α 40, ν 144.
270. ὑπάλυξις. ψ 287.

X 26 in 404 lines.

Il. xxiv. 1–804.

476. παρακεῖμαι. ξ 521, χ 65, φ 416.
190. acc. πείρινθα. ο 131.
527. πίθος. β 340, ψ 305.
620. πολυδάκρυτος. (But πολυδάκρυς, Γ 132, and elsewhere in Il.) τ 213, 251, φ 57.
524. πρῆξις. κ 202, 568.
213. προσφύω. μ 433.
*304. πρόχοον (in a set formula). 6 times in Od.
755. ῥυστάζω. π 109, υ 319.
453. σταυρός. ξ 11.
324. τετράκυκλος (of the waggon). ι 242.
487. τήλικος. 4 times in Od.
*348. ὑπηνήτης (in the set description of Hermes). κ 279.
*344. ὑπνόω as above. ε 48, ω 4.
785. φαεσίμβροτος. κ 198, 138.
162. φύρω. 5 times in Od.

Ω 46 in 804 lines, *or* 50 if we add the next 4.

(1) εἴσειμι occurs Ω 463, and σ 184, χ 470.
But the usages differ somewhat markedly, as the instances show:—
Ω 463. οὐδ' Ἀχιλῆος | ὀφθαλμοὺς εἴσειμι.
σ 184. οὐκ εἴσειμι μετ' ἀνέρας.
χ 470. αὖλιν ἐσιέμεναι.
(2) εἰσνοέω occurs Ω 700, and twice in the Odyssey, but both times in the interpolation to the Nekuia, λ 572, 601.
(3) ἄνω (Ω 544) is from the same interpolation, λ 596.
(4) θρήνεω (Ω 722) is also in an interpolation to the Odyssey—the Funeral of Achilles, ω 61.
The following five words from Ω are also included by Monro as purely Odyssean. But I do not, for various reasons, consider their inclusion justified:—
Ω 347. αἰσυμνητήρ.

Against this there are three considerations:—

(1) Some of the best MSS. read *αἰσυνητῆρι* (see Monro's own note, *ad loc.*).

(2) *αἰσυμνητήρ* does *not* occur in the Odyssey. The form is *αἰσυμνῆται* (*θ* 258), as if from *αἰσυμνήτης*.

(3) The meaning of the words in the Iliad and in the Odyssey can hardly be the same, for "prince" is appropriate in the Iliad and "stewards" in the Odyssey.

Ω 213. *ἄντιτα ἔργα.*

Here again the reading is highly doubtful. Monro himself prints in his text:—

τότ' ἂν τιτὰ ἔργα γένοιτο.

This certainly gives a far more natural construction.

Ω 227. *ἀγκάς*, as in *ἀγκὰς ἑλὼν.*

The *word* re-occurs *elsewhere* in the Iliad, *e.g.* xiv. Ξ 346, 353. For the *phrase*, see the first instance in my list (Appendix B (1)).

Ω 325. *δαιφρών* in the sense of "prudent" (rather than "skilled in war").

But *δαιφρών* is naturally taken as "clever," "crafty," rather than "skilled in war" when it is used of the wily Antimachus in Il. xi. Λ, 123, 138 (part of *the Menis*). (See Ebeling's Lexicon, *ad voc.*) Thus to confine it to the meaning "warlike" for the earlier part of the Iliad is to make a needless difficulty. It is much simpler to suppose that it always means "clever," "capable" in general. (It is used several times in the Odyssey, but only once of a *woman*: Anticleia—o 356.)

Ω 228. *φωριαμός* (*o* 104).

But the word was also read by Aristarchus in Z 288. (See Ebeling, *ad voc.*)

APPENDIX C

ILIAD AND ODYSSEY. GRAMMAR

See Monro, "Homeric Grammar" (ed. 1891)

§ 1. ἔθεν.

"The form ἔθεν is only found in the Iliad" (H. G., § 109).

Monro, apparently, has overlooked one instance in the Odyssey. The form is rare in any case, the instances being:—

Original Iliad—

E v. 56, 96.
Z vi. 62.
M xii. 205.

Additions—

K x. 465.
P xvii. 407.
Υ xx. 278, 305.

Odyssey—

τ xix. 481.

§ 2. ἀμφί with dat. = *concerning*, after verbs meaning to *speak*, *think*, &c. "Odyssean" (H. G., § 182).

This is true, but only if we omit the "&c." and confine ourselves strictly to actual verbs of *speaking* and *thinking*. Further, we must note—

(1) The use with these verbs is not *common* in the Odyssey. If the Iliad has only one instance the Odyssey has only seven, viz.:—

Odyssey—

iv. δ 151–2. μεμνημένος ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆι | μυθεόμην, ὅσα κεῖνος κτλ.
v. ε 287. μετεβούλευσαν . . . ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆι.
xiv. ξ 337–8. τοίσιν δὲ κακὴ φρεσὶν ἥνδανε βουλή | ἀμφ' ἐμοί.
xix. ξ 364. εἰπὼν ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆι.
xvii. ρ 555. μεταλλῆσαι ἀμφὶ πόσει.
xix. τ 95. ἀμφὶ πόσει εἴρεσθαι.
xxiv. ω 263. ἐρέεινον | ἀμφὶ ξείνῳ ἐμῷ.

(2) The one Iliadic instance is from *the Menis* itself:—

Π xvi. 647. ἀμφὶ φόνῳ Πατρόκλου μερμηρίζων.

(3) There are instances elsewhere in Homer of ἀμφί with dat. = *concerning*, after verbs other than those of *speaking* and *thinking*, viz. verbs of *fighting*, *quarrelling*, &c. And these instances bear a close analogy to the preceding:—

e.g. *Original Iliad*—

M xii. 412. ἀμφ' οὔροισι δηριάασθον.

Compare with the second Odyssean instance cited above:—

ε v. 287. μετεβούλευσαν ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆι.

The difference of the verbs may be admitted to involve a difference in the colour of the prepositional phrase—as in English the word "about" in the phrase "talking *about* a woman" has a different colour from that which it has in the phrase "fighting *about* a woman." But this very comparison may serve to show how slight the difference is. I give the relevant instances below. If we add them to the instances with verbs of *speaking* and *thinking* we get the following interesting results:—

Odyssey—7 + 4 = 11.
Original Iliad—1 + 8 = 9 (or, adding 4 repetitions, 1 + 12 = 13).
Additions—Only 3 (or, adding 2 very doubtful cases, 5).[1]

These figures strongly suggest the conclusion that the use of ἀμφί with the dat. in the sense of *concerning* is actually a trait characteristic at once of the Original Iliad and of the Odyssey, only in the Odyssey it is more common with verbs of *speaking* and *thinking*, in the Iliad with verbs of *fighting* and *quarrelling*—a change which, considering the difference of subject-matter, cannot be called surprising.

(Ebeling: ἀμφί, iii. A, b, c, vol. i. pp. 101–2.)

Iliad, Original—

M xii. 412. ἀμφ' οὔροισι δηριάασθον.
Γ iii. 70. ἀμφ' Ἑλένῃ κ. κτήμασι πᾶσι μάχεσθαι.
(91. ἀμφ' Ἑλένῃ κ. κτήμασι πᾶσι μάχεσθαι.)
(254. μαχήσοντ' ἀ. γυναικί.)
157. ἀ. γυναικὶ ἄλγεα πάσχειν.
Λ xi. 672. νεῖκος ἐτύχθη ἀ. βοηλασίῃ.
Ο xv. 633. μαχέσασθαι ἕλικος βοὸς ἀ. φονῆσιν.

[1] *N.B.*—Here and in what follows repetitions are not included in the enumeration without notice.

O xv. 587. ὅς τε κύνα κτείνας ἀ. βόεσσι.
Π xvi. 526. ἀ. νέκυι κατατεθνηῶτι μάχωμαι.
(565. ἀ. νέκυι κατατεθνηῶτι μάχεσθαι.)
Ψ xxiii. 88. ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι χολωθείς.
Ω xxiv. 108. νεῖκος . . . ὄρωρεν
Ἕκτορος ἀ. νέκυι κ. Ἀχιλλῆι.

The Additions—

(E v. 451. ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' εἰδώλῳ δῆουν.
Given by Ebeling, but very doubtful. It is more naturally taken as local.)
I ix. 547–8. ἀμφ' αὐτῷ θῆκε κέλαδον . . .
ἀμφὶ συὸς κεφαλῇ κ. δέρματι.
(Ξ xiv. 447. ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ αὐτῷ
. . . σύναγον ὑσμίνην.
Most probably local.)
N xiii. 382. συνώμεθα ἀμφὶ γάμῳ.
H vii. 408. ἀ. δὲ νεκροῖσιν (without a verb).

(B. ii. 782 is certainly local.)

Odyssey—

xxii. χ 228. ὅτ' ἀμφ' Ἑλένῃ ἐμαρνάο.
xi. λ 545–6. νίκησα δικαζόμενος παρὰ νηυσί
τεύχεσιν ἀμφ' Ἀχιλῆος.
iv. δ 153. ὅσα κεῖνος . . . ἐμόγησεν | ἀ. ἐμοὶ.
i. α 48. ἀλλά μοι ἀμφ' Ὀδυσῆι δαΐφρονι δαίεται ἦτορ.

It may be added that this use of *ἀμφί* (with either type of verb) is not followed up in Attic prose. It only "survives in the poetical style and in Herodotus" (H. G., § 182). Therefore its frequency in the Odyssey would, *pro tanto*, cut against the theory of a late date for that poem. It does not occur in Iliad x.; it is found once in ix., once in xxiii., and once in xxiv.

What seems like a curious experiment with *ἀμφί*, c. gen. = *concerning*, is found once in *the Menis*, Il. Π xvi. 825, *μάχεσθον πίδακος ἀμφ' ὀλίγης*, and also once in the Odyssey, Θ viii. 267, *ἀείδειν ἀμφ' Ἄρεος φιλότητος* (but this last *may* be an interpolation).

§ 3. Similar results follow for *περί*, c. gen. = *concerning*, with verbs of *speaking*, *hearing*, and *knowing*, &c. (the common Attic use) (H. G., § 188). It is true that there is no instance with these special verbs in the Original Iliad, and only one instance in the Additions: Il. xx. Υ 17, *περὶ Τρώων μερμερίζεις*. The Iliad, *including* xxiv. (*e.g.* l. 390), uses the simple gen. or acc. And there are 9 instances in the Odyssey (excluding 1 repetition).

Odyssey—

i. α 135. περὶ πατρὸς ἔροιτο.
(iii. γ 77. περὶ πατρὸς ἔροιτο.)
i. α 405. περὶ ξείνοιο ἔρεσθαι.
vii. η 190–1. π. πομπῆς | μνησόμεθα.
xv. ο 347. εἶπ' ἄγε μοι π. μητρὸς.
xix. τ 270. π. νόστου ἀκοῦσα.
xvi. π 234. φόνου περὶ βουλεύσωμεν.
xvii. ρ 370–1. τόνδε π. ξείνου κέκλυτέ μευ.
xvii. ρ 571. εἴρεσθω πόσιος πέρι νόστιμον ἦμαρ.
xvii. ρ 563. οἶδα γὰρ εὖ π. κείνου.

But if we include *other* verbs we get in all, excluding repetitions, 24 cases (possibly 28) from the Original Iliad, 17 from the Odyssey (9 + 8), and only 7 (1 + 6) from the Additions.

As with *ἀμφί*, so here, the notion of the *thing fought for* is uppermost in the Iliad, that of the *subject-matter of discourse* in the Odyssey. There is thus a slight change in colour, but the instances show how close the two usages are, and the statistics the nearness of the Original Iliad to the Odyssey as compared with the Additions.

Original Iliad—

(*v.* Ebeling, περί, A, c, vol. ii. p. 168.)

Π xvi. 476. συνίτην ἐρίδος πέρι θυμοβόροιο (*the Menis*).
P xvii. 120–1. π. Πατρόκλοιο | σπεύσομεν.
Γ iii. 137. μαχήσονται π. σεῖο.
cp.
M xii. 216. νηῶν.
(Π xvi. 1. νηὸς.)
Π xvi. 757. ἐλάφοιο.
P xvii. 147. πτόλιος.
(Σ xviii. 265. πτόλιος ἠδὲ γυναικῶν.)
Σ xviii. 279. τείχεος.

M xii. 243. ἀμύνεσθαι π. πάτρης.
M xii. 227. ἀμυνόμενοι π. νηῶν.
(O xv. 496. ἀμυνομένῳ π. πάτρης.)
P xvii. 182. ἀμυνέμεναι π. Πατρόκλοιο.
Σ xviii. 173. ἀμυνέμεναι νέκυος πέρι.
(Ω xxiv. 500. ἀμυνέμεναι π. πάτρης.)
P xvii. 157. π. πάτρης δῆριν ἔθεντο.
M xii. 423. ἐρίζητον π. ἴσης.
Λ xi. 700–1. π. τρίποδος . . . θεύσεσθαι.
Ψ xxiii. 718. νίκης ἷέσθην τρίποδος π. ποιητοῖο.

X xxii. 161. ἀλλὰ π. ψυχῆς θέον (*the Menis*).
Σ xviii. 195. δηίοων π. Πατροκλοιο.
Π xvi. 756. π. Κεβριονάο δηρινθήτην (*the Menis*).
(759 repeated.)

P xvii. 397. περὶ δ' αὐτοῦ μῶλος ὀρώρει.
P xvii. 734. π. νεκροῦ δηριάασθαι.
Ψ xxiii. 437, 496. ἐπειγόμενος π. νίκης.
Ψ xxiii. 639. ἀγασσάμενοι π. νίκης.
Ψ xxiii. 553. περὶ δ' αὐτῆς πειρηθήτω.
Ψ xxiii. 659–60. περὶ τῶνδε . . . πεπλήγεμεν.

To this list might perhaps be added—

Π xvi. 497. ἐμεῦ πέρι μάρναο.
P xvii. 240. νεκύος πέρι δείδια.
(Usually taken as part of *the Menis*.)

And also—

O xv. 416. περὶ νηὸς ἔχον πόνον.
O xv. 707. περὶ νηὸς δῄουν (*the Menis*).

These two *may* be local. If so, it should be noted that this is a very rare use, and *also Odyssean*, viz.:—

Odyssey—

ε v. 68. τετάνυστο περὶ σπείους γλαφυροῖο.
130. περὶ τρόπιος βεβαῶτα.

These seem to be the only certain instances (Ebeling, περὶ, A, b).

Additions—

O xv. 284. ἐρίσσειαν περὶ μύθων.
M xii. 142. ἀμύνεσθαι π. νηῶν.
M xii. 170. ἀμύνοντας π. τεκνῶν.
H vii. 301. ἐμαρνάσθην ἔριδος πέρι θυμοβόροιο.
(Υ xx. 253. χολωσάμεναι ἔριδος πέρι θυμοβόροιο.)
Ψ xxiii. 802–4. περὶ τῶνδε . . . πειρηθῆναι.
Θ viii. 476. (ὅτ' ἂν μάχωνται)
περὶ Πατρόκλοιο θάνοντος.

Note that this use does *not* occur at all in Il. ix. and x., while it *does* occur in xxiii. and xxiv.

Odyssey—

xi. λ 403. περὶ πτόλιος μαχεούμενον ἠδὲ γυναικῶν.
xxii. χ 245. περί τε ψυχέων ἐμάχοντο.
xxiv. ω 39. μαρνάμενοι περὶ σεῖο. (Probably an interpolation.)

(xxiv. ω 113. περὶ πτόλιος μαχεούμενοι ἠδὲ γυναικῶν.)
viii. θ 225. ἀθανάτοισιν ἐρίζεσκον π. τόξων.
xviii. σ 403. π. πτωχῶν ἐριδαίνομεν.
xxi. φ 249. ἄχος π. τ' αὐτοῦ κ. π. πάντων.
ix. ι 423. ὥς τε π. ψυχῆς.
xxiv. ω 515. ἀρετῆς π. δῆριν ἔχουσι.

It may be added that the Odyssey keeps the old use of the simple gen. = *about, e.g.*—

β ii. 220. εἰ δέ κε τεθνηῶτος ἀκούσω.
δ iv. 317. εἴ τινά μοι κλήδονα πατρὸς ἐνίσποις.

§ 4. μετά, c. gen. = *among* (the later prose usage). "Odyssean" (H. G., § 196).

There are only 2 instances in the Odyssey (which we shall discuss in a moment).

As a matter of fact there are certainly 2 in the Additions—

N xiii. 700,
Φ xxi. 458,

and possibly 3: for in Λ xi. 51, the reading μεγ' ἱππήων gives no sense. (See Leaf, *ad loc.*, who reads μεθ'.)

There is possibly one instance in the Original Iliad—

Ω xxiv. 400. τῶν μέτα παλλόμενος κλήρῳ λάχον.

But here we should probably read μεταπαλλόμενος, and take τῶν as partitive (*v.* H. G., § 196).

However, the important points to notice are (1) that this use of μετά *is colloquial* (which indeed is the reason why it is usually avoided in the high style, as it is by Æschylus, *v.* H. G., § 221, *note*); (2) that *both* the Odyssean instances occur where colloquialism happens to be peculiarly in place.

The first is in Circe's scornful dismissal of the man she thinks she has turned into a beast—

κ x. 330. Ἔρχεο νῦν συφεόνδε, μετ' ἄλλων λέξον ἑταίρων.

We instinctively translate: "Off to the sty!" &c.

The second is in a speech of the swineherd's—

π. xvi. 140. μετὰ δμωών τ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ πῖνε καὶ—

a speech, too, that is specially marked by the homeliness and simplicity so characteristic of Eumæus[1]—the homeliness that Homer knows so

[1] *E.g.* π 136. γιγνώσκω, φρονέω· τά γε δὴ νοεοντὶ κελεύεις: "I know, I know! You needn't teach a man who has his wits."

well how to weave into the stately Epic diction when he chooses. He does it by these subtle touches, which are then, alas! liable to be classified by our grammarians as "changes of language."

Monro appears to recognise the colloquial character of the usage (H. G., § 196, *note*), but not to draw the obvious inference.

§ 5. ἐπί, c. acc. of *persons* = *in quest of* (motion towards).

Said to be "almost confined to the Iliad" (H. G., § 199). But note that (1) in any case the use is rare; (2) there are only 5 instances in the Original—

Original Iliad—

B ii. 18.	βῆ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' Ἀτρείδην.	*The Menis.*
Λ xi. 343.	ὧρτο ἐπ' αὐτούς.	
Λ xi. 805.	θέειν ἐπ' Αἰακίδην.	
M xii. 342.	ἐπ' Αἴαντα προΐει.	
Π xvi. 535.	κίε Πουλυδάμαντ' ἐπί.	

And there are at least 3 in the Odyssey—

ε v. 149.	ἐπ' Ὀδυσῆα ἧιε.
α i. 183.	πλέων . . . ἐπ' ἀλλοθρόους ἀνθρώπους.
ι ix. 129.	ἄνδρες ἐπ' ἀλλήλους νηυσὶν περόωσι θάλασσαν.

The difference is certainly small.

(The other Iliadic instances are 10 in number, and of these as many as 4 happen to come from Book x. K 18, 54, 85, 150; *v.* Ebeling, ἐπί, B, c, 5, a.)

But further, there are two other instances in the Odyssey of ἐπί, c. acc. = "*in quest of*," where, though the object of the quest is an animal and not a man, the usage is exactly the same—

γ iii. 421. πεδιόνδε ἐπὶ βοῦν ἴτω.

ρ xvii. 295 (of the dog Argus). (τὸν ἀγίνεσκον) αἶγας ἐπ' ἀγροτέρας, κτλ.

If we add these to the Odyssean list, and the similar case in Iliad xxiv. Ω 43 (εἶσ' ἐπὶ μῆλα) to the Iliadic, we get 5 for the Odyssey as against 6 for the Original Iliad, and the small difference now becomes microscopic.

§ 6. Again, it is said that ἐπὶ, c. acc., *to imply extent*, without any verb of motion, is "Odyssean" (H. G., § 199).

But we find in the Original Iliad this phrase (describing the horses of Admetus)—

B ii. 765. σταφύλῃ ἐπὶ νῶτον εἴσας, "equal along the back (*i.e.* in height) by the level."

It is really impossible to supply a verb of motion here.

And compare B ii. 308 (from a part of the Iliad which, though not part of the Original, is usually considered to be very early)—

δράκων ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφοινός.

Further, it seems a little perverse to class "*looking*" among verbs of motion. (See H. G., § 199, 3.)

And we find in *the Menis* itself—

A i. 350. ὁρόων ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον.

Finally, the Odyssean instances, though many in number, are, all but one, variants of two phrases, and two only, and these two are akin, viz.—

(1) ἐπὶ γαῖαν (ἄρουραν, χθόνα, αἶαν).
E.g. γ iii. 3. φαείνοι ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν.
(2) (πάντας) ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους.

The first Odyssean instance, by the way, clearly shows how the phrase begins and how naturally it grows up out of the common use of ἐπί, c. acc. *with* verbs of motion. (It may be observed that, as a matter of fact, it would be easier to make out a case for a real idea of motion here than in the instance from *the Menis*, A i. 350.)

These two particular phrases become, no doubt, favourite Odyssean "turns" (and, be it observed, this holds of the Odyssey from first to last). But the syntactical usage never grows outside these limits. Thus the evidence may suggest unity of authorship for the Odyssey; but it can no more suggest a change in syntax as compared with the Iliad than the use of the set phrase "over all the world" could suggest that English had begun to employ the word "*over*" as an equivalent for the word "*in*."

(*v.* Ebeling, ἐπί, B, c, 4 a fin., 5 b, vol. i. p. 448–9.)

Odyssey—

(1) ἐπὶ γαῖαν and variants—
γ iii. 3.
δ iv. 417.
η vii. 332.
μ xii. 386.
ρ xvii. 386.
τ xix. 107, 593.
ω xxiv. 509.

(2) (πάντας) ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους—
α i. 299.
γ iii. 252.
ξ xiv. 403.
τ xix. 334.
ψ xxiii. 125.
ω xxiv. 201.
(ω xxiv. 94 is from an interpolation.)

(3) ε v. 158. πόντον ἐπ' . . . δερκέσκετο—

Original Iliad—

A i. 350. ὁρόων ἐπὶ πόντον (*the Menis*).
B ii. 765. ἐπὶ νῶτον εἵσας.
Ψ xxiii. 143. ἰδὼν ἐ. πόντον.
Ψ xxiii. 742. κάλλει ἐνίκα πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν.
Ω xxiv. 202. ἔκλε' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους.
Ω xxiv. 535. πάντας . . . ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο.

Additions—

B ii. 308. δράκων ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφοινός.
H vii. 446. ἦ ῥά τις ἐστι βροτῶν ἐπ' απείρονα γαῖαν κτλ.
I ix. 506. φθάνει . . . πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν | βλάπτουσα.
K x. 212–213. κλέος εἴη
πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους.
E v. 771. λεύσσων ἐ. πόντον.
N xiii. 4. ἐφ' . . . Θρῃκῶν καθορώμενος αἶαν.

(*Once* in I ix., K x.; *twice* in Ψ xxiii. and Ω xxiv.)

§ 7. *ἐπί* with forms in *-φι*. "Odyssean" (H. G., § 157).
But apparently there are only 3 cases, one of which is from the interpolation to the Nekuia—

ἐπ' ἐσχαρόφιν, ἐπ' ἰκριόφιν, (ἐπὶ νευρῆφιν). (Od. v. ε 59, xiii. ν 74, xi. λ 607.)

§ 8. *πρός*, with the dat., meaning *besides*. "Odyssean" (H. G., § 206).
But this only occurs *once* in the Odyssey, as Monro himself observes—

κ x. 68. ἄασάν μ' ἕταροί τε κακοὶ πρὸς τοῖσί τε ὕπνος.

And the closely similar *advbl.* use of *πρός = besides*, is common in the Iliad, *e.g.* E v. 307 (the Original Iliad):—

θλάσσε δέ οἱ κοτύλην, πρὸς δ' ἄμφω ῥῆξε τένοντε.

§ 9. *ἀνά* c. gen. "Odyssean" (H. G., § 209).
But there are only 3 instances, all told, in the Odyssey (*v.* H. G., *loc. cit.*), and all are in the set phrase of "going on board." And of these 3, 2 are doubtful. Ebeling (*v.* Lexicon, *ἀνά*, π 1) takes β ii. 416 and ο xv. 284 as instances of tmesis for *ἀναβαίνω*:—

ἄν δ' ἄρα Τηλέμαχος νηὸς βαῖνε,
ἂν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς νηὸς ἐβήσετο ποντοπόροιο.

The run of the lines certainly favours this. And, in the Original Iliad, we find ἀναβαίνω used absolutely to mean "going on board," which shows that the meaning is familiar :—

A i. 312. οἱ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἀναβάντες ἐπέπλεον ὑγρὰ κέλευθα.

There remains one solitary Odyssean instance—

ι ix. 177. ἀνὰ νηὸς ἔβην.

We cannot conclude much from one solitary instance; and if we could venture to conclude anything, it would be, I think, that we had here a technical phrase (just like our own "*going on board*") used for the sake of "local colour." It may be added that the use with the gen. never appears at all in later Greek.

§ 10. ἀνά, c. acc. with *collective* nouns = *through*, "seems to be peculiar to the Iliad" (H. G., § 210).

(By "collective Nouns" I presume Monro means *abstract* collective nouns.)

No doubt this is more common in the Iliad, both in the Original (20 cases) and in the Additions (15); but it does occur in the Odyssey (6 times). (Repetitions are included in the numbers for all these.)

In the Odyssey the phrase is limited to the word δῆμος. In the Iliad (except for xxiii.) the words are all connected with warfare.

The use does not occur in Il. ix. or xxiv., but it does occur in x. (four times) and also in xxiii. (twice).

Ebeling, ἀνά, iii. 3, b, c.

Odyssey—

τ xix. 73. ἀνὰ δῆμον.
273. " "
β ii. 291. " "
γ iii. 215. " "
π xvi. 96. " "
δ iv. 666. " "
(θ viii. 377. ἀν' ἰθὺν is too doubtful.)

Original Iliad—

A i. 10. ἀνὰ στρατόν.
53. " "
384. " "
Δ iv. 209, 436. " "
O xv. 657. " "
Γ iii. 449. ἀν' ὅμιλον.
Λ xi. 247, 259, 324. " "
M xii. 49. " "

(Δ iv. 251, 273. ἀνὰ οὐλαμόν.
E v. 167. ἄν τε μάχην καὶ ἀνὰ κλόνον.
Π xvi. 726. ἂμ πόνον.
P xvii. 82. ἂμ πόνον.
O xv. 584. ἀνὰ δηιοτῆτα.
P xvii. 257. „ „
Ψ xxiii. 321. ἀνὰ δρόμον.
617. ἀν' ἀγῶνα.)

The last 9 instances appear to be on a somewhat different footing. They are abstract, but scarcely *collective*.

Additions—
K x. 66. ἀνὰ στράτον.
82, 141. „ „
N xiii. 117. „ „
E v. 528. ἀν' ὅμιλον.
H vii. 183, 186. „ „
Υ xx. 113. ἀνὰ οὐλαμόν.
E v. 824. μάχην ἄνα.
Ξ xiv. 155. „ „
Υ xx. 319. ἄν τε μάχην καὶ ἀνὰ κλόνον.
Θ viii. 89, 158. ἀν' ἰωχμόν.
K x. 298. ἂμ φόνον, ἂν νεκύας.
N xiii. 239. ἂμ πόνον.

§ 11. κατά, c. acc. with (*abstract*) *collective* nouns "chiefly in the Iliad" (H. G., § 212). Certainly it is common in the Iliad, both in the Original (throughout) and in the Additions.

E.g. *Original*—
A i. 229, 318 (*the Menis*). κατὰ στράτον.
Ψ xxiii. 285. „ „
Ω xxiv. 691. „ „

Additions—
I ix. 521. κατὰ λαὸν.

(Apparently, however, there is no instance in K x.)
But in the Odyssey we have κατὰ δῆμον close on a score of times, and κατ' ἀγῶνας (– α) twice (θ viii. 259, 380). (Ebeling, κατά, iii. b. γ.)

§ 12. κατά, c. acc. = "*for*," "*in quest of*." "Odyssean" (H. G., § 212 (3)).

This occurs thrice in the Odyssey (excluding one repetition)—

γ iii. 72. ἦ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν . . . ἀλάλησθε.

(*Cp.* h. Ap. 453. κατὰ πρῆξίν.)
(ι ix. 253. Repeated.)
γ iii. 106. πλαζόμενοι κατὰ ληίδα.
λ xi. 479. ἦλθον Τειρεσίαο κατὰ χρέος (=Τειρεσίαο χρησόμενος).

Now we have a phrase exactly similar to the second of these in *the Menis* (and nowhere else in Homer)—

A i. 424. ἔβη κατὰ δαῖτα.

Leaf (*ad loc.*), translating the phrase "in the matter of a banquet," refers to Monro (H. G., § 212 (3))—the very place where the "Odyssean" use is catalogued.

(*v.* Ebeling, κατά, iii. γ, c, β.)

There is another usage of κατά, c. acc., which appears closely analogous to the preceding, and is also confined to the Odyssey and the Original Iliad, viz. κατά="*up to*" with verbs of motion. (The likeness of the phrasing and versification in the instances should be noted.)

Iliad—

A i. 484. ἴκοντο κατὰ στρατόν.
Λ xi. 806–7. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κατὰ νῆας . . . | ἶξε θέων (*the Menis*).

Odyssey—

ε v. 441–2. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ποταμοῖο κατὰ στόμα . . . | ἶξε νέων.
ω xxiv. 13. ἴκοντο κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα.

§ 13. The phrase διὰ νύκτα. This occurs "chiefly in the Odyssey and Books x. and xxiv. of the Iliad" (H. G., § 215).

But the identical phrase occurs also in *the Menis* itself.

B ii. 56–57. ἦλθεν ὄνειρος | ἀμβροσίην διὰ νύκτα.

And next to it in the same Book there is another very like it—

39–40. θήσειν γὰρ ἔτ' ἔμελλεν ἐπ' ἄλγεα . . . διὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας.

(The two phrases are quoted under the same heading by Monro, H. G., § 215.)

The Odyssey, Ω xxiv., and K x., may show a peculiar fondness for the phrase, but it is not a new one in any of these Books. It does not occur, curiously enough, in Book I ix., where we might well expect it.

But it is certainly a marked trick of K x., where it is repeated almost *ad nauseam* (9 times, 41, 83, 101, 142, 276, 297, 386, 394, 468). It occurs 3 times in Ω xxiv.

The only other instance in the Iliad is from the Additions, Θ viii. 510. (Ebeling, διά, 2, b.)

Further, the use of διά with the acc. to denote *the space through which* motion takes place is "distinctively Homeric" (Monro, *loc. cit.*). And an investigation of the instances in the Odyssey and the Original Iliad will show how close together lie the ideas of space and time in the use of the phrase. This is indeed abundantly clear from the first example in the Odyssey—

ι ix. 141. ἔνθα κατέπλεομεν καί τις θεῶν ἡγεμόνευε
νύκτα δί' ὀρφναίην, οὐδὲ προύφαινετ' ἰδέσθαι.

"We sailed in (to the harbour) and some god led us through the dark night, for we could not see our way." "*Through*" here plainly does not mean "*during*."

The spatial sense is uppermost also in 3 out of the remaining 5 instances.

ι ix. 404. τίπτε . . . ἐβόησας
νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίην;

ο xv. 50. οὔ πως ἔστιν—
ν. δ. δνοφερὴν ἐλάαν.

λ xii. 284. ἀλλ' αὖτως δ. ν. θοὴν ἀλάλησθαι.

ο xv. 8. Τηλέμαχον . . .
ν. δι' ἀμβρ. μελεδήματα πατρὸς ἔγειρεν.
(The only purely temporal case.)

τ xix. 66. διὰ νύκτα
δινεύων κατὰ οἶκον.

The spatial sense is also unmistakable in—

Ω xxiv. 363. πῇ, πάτερ, ὧδ' ἵππους . . . ἰθύνεις
ν. δ. ἀμβροσίην.

And again—

366. εἴ τις σε ἴδοιτο θοὴν δ. ν. μέλαιναν
τόσσαδ' ὀνείατ' ἄγοντα.

But the phrase is repeated *without* the verb in—

653. τῶν εἴ τις σε ἴδοιτο θ. δ. ν. μέλαιναν.

§ 14. ἐν with plurs. of *persons* (= *among*) and with *abstract words*. ("Odyssean.")

"This occurs in Il., but almost exclusively in ix., x., xxiii., and xxiv." (Jebb, "Homer," Appendix, N. 3).

"These two uses are nearly confined in the Iliad to Books ix., x., xxiii., and xxiv." (H. G., § 220).

For the first usage, (ἐν with *plurs.* denoting *persons*), these dicta do not appear to be borne out by the statistics. On the contrary, Ebeling's exhaustive lexicon gives only 34 instances for the Odyssey (including repetitions), and actually as many as 64 for the Iliad, *excluding* Books ix., x., xxiii., and xxiv. (Or, if we omit repetitions, 19 for *all* the *twenty-four* books of the Odyssey, and 16 for the *twenty* Iliadic books selected.)

Nor is there even any increase in Iliad ix., x., xxiii., or xxiv., as compared with individual Books of *the Menis*. The following tables will show this. At first sight it might be thought that Il. xxiii. Ψ formed an exception; but the numbers there are only swelled by counting the repetitions. And in this instance it is peculiarly unscientific to include the repetitions without notice, as 5 of them occur in a regular refrain where Achilles sets out the prizes for each of the five contests, and 2 are from an interpolation. *With the repetitions and the interpolations* we have 12 cases, without them no more than 3.

ἐν with *plurs.* denoting *persons*—

Λ xi. (*the Menis*)—

xi. 188.	θύνοντ' ἐν προμάχοισιν.
(203.	θύνοντ' ἐν προμάχοισιν.)
470.	ἐνὶ Τρώεσσι.
296.	ἐν πρώτοισι.
(675.	ἐν πρώτοισι.)
(61.	ἐν πρώτοισι.)
65.	ἐν πυμάτοισι.

4 or 7.

A i. (*the Menis*)—

i. 520.	ἐν ἀθανατοῖσι θεοῖσι.
398.	ἐν ἀθανατοῖσι.
109.	ἐν Δαναοῖσι.
(575.	ἐν δὲ θεοῖσι.)

3 or 4.

The Additions—

(Iliad ix. 1)

34.	ἐν Δαναοίσι.
680.	ἐν Ἀργείοισιν.
(647.	ἐν Ἀργείοισιν.)
709.	ἐνὶ πρώτοισι.
121.	ὑμῖν δ' ἐν πάντεσσι.
(528.	ἐν δ' ὑμῖν πάντεσσι.)

4 or 6.

x K.

207. ἐνὶ Τρώεσσι.
(314. ἐν Τρώεσσι.)
445. ἐν ὑμῖν.
435. ἐν δέ σφιν Ῥῆσος.
127. ἐν φυλάκεσσι.
(180. φυλάκεσσιν ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν.)

4 or 6.

Original Iliad—

Ψ xxiii.

271. στῆ δ' ὀρθὸς καὶ μῦθον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔειπεν.
(456. do. do.)
(657. do. do.)
(706. do. do.)
(752. do. do.)

801 and 803 should not be counted at all, as they belong to what is always considered an interpolation. For the phrase itself *cp. the Menis :—*

X xxii. 377. στὰς ἐν Ἀχαιοῖσιν ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευεν,

a line almost verbally echoed by the next instance from Book xxiii.

(535. στάς δ' ἄρ ἐν Ἀργείοις ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευεν.)
(620. οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' αὐτὸν | ὄψῃ ἐν Ἀργείοισι.)
703. ἐνὶ σφίσι.
(786. μῦθον ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔειπεν.)
134. ἐν δὲ μέσσοισι φέρον Πάτροκλον.

3 or 12.

Ω xxiv.—

62. ἐν δὲ σὺ τοῖσιν.
84. ἐνὶ μέσσῃς | κλαῖε.
107. νεῖκος ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ὄρωρεν.
(162. ὃ δ' ἐν μέσσοισι γεραιός.)
684. εὕδεις ἀνδράσιν ἐν δηΐοισιν.

4 or 5.

I give the remaining instances I have found in the Iliad and the Odyssey.

(See Ebeling, ἐν, iii. A, b, c, β), g, h.
C, a.
D, b, c, d.

Original Iliad.		*Additions.*	
M xii. 41.	ἔν τε κύνεσσι κ. ἀνδράσι.		
Σ xviii. 494.	ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν.		
(Π xvi. 166.	ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν.)		
		B ii. 783.	γαῖαν ἱμάσσῃ εἰν Ἀρίμοις.
X xxii. 377.	στὰς ἐν Ἀχαιοῖσιν.		
(T xix. 6.	ἐν τοῖσι παρίστατο.)	(Θ viii. 148.	ἐνὶ Τρώεσσ' ἀγορεύων.)
(E v. 9.	ἦν δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι.)	(Ξ xiv. 45.	ἐνὶ Τρώεσσ' ἀγορεύων.)
(Π xvi. 750.	ἐν Τρώεσσι.)		
		(N xiii. 689.	ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν.)
(Γ iii. 209.	Τρώεσσιν ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν.)	E v. 397.	ἐν νεκύεσσι.
		(Φ xxi. 385.	ἐν . . . θεοῖσιν ἔρις πέσε.)
(Σ xviii. 194.	ἐνὶ πρώτοισιν.)		
		Υ xx. 55.	ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς.
(Γ iii. 31.	ἐν προμάχοισι.)		
		(H vii. 384.	ἐν μέσσοισιν.)
B ii. 483.	ἐν πολλοῖσιν κ. ἔξοχον ἠρώεσσιν.	(H vii. 417.	ἐν μέσσοισιν.)
		(Θ viii. 337.	ἐν πρώτοισι.)
(P. xvii. 26.	ἐν Δαναοῖσι.)	(Θ viii. 536.	ἐν πρώτοισιν.)
(P. xvii. 753.	ἐν τοῖσι.)		
		(Υ xx. 15.	ἐν μέσσοισι.)
(T xix. 424.	ἐν πρώτοις.)		
(M xii. 306.	ἐν πρώτοις.)		
(M xii. 324.	ἐνὶ πρώτοισι.)		
(O xv. 643.	ἐν πρώτοισι.)		
(P xvii. 506.	ἐνὶ πρώτοισιν.)		
(Δ iv. 212.	ἐν μέσσοισι.)	(B ii. 274.	ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἔρεξεν.)
(M xii. 209.	ἐν μέσσοισι.)		
(T xix. 77.	ἐν μέσσοισιν.)	(T xix. 175.	ἐν Ἀργείοισιν ἀναστας.)
(T xix. 364.	ἐν δὲ μέσοισι.)		
(Σ xviii. 569.	ἐν μέσσοισι.)	(Φ xxi. 476.	ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.)
(Σ xviii. 507.	ἐν μέσσοισι.)		
Γ iii. 230.	ἐνὶ Κρήτεσσι.	(O xv. 342.	ἐν προμάχοισι.)

Original Iliad.	*Additions.*
(Δ iv. 253. ἐνὶ προμάχοις.)	(N xiii. 156. ἐν τοῖσι.)
(O xv. 522. ἐνὶ προμάχοισι.)	(E v. 395. ἐν τοῖσι.)
(Σ xviii. 456. ἐνὶ προμάχοισι.)	(O xv. 107. ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.)
(T xix. 414. ἐνὶ προμάχοισι.)	
(Σ xviii. 556. ἐν τοῖσι.)	
(P xvii. 16. ἐνὶ Τρώεσσιν.)	
(Δ iv. 458. ἐνὶ προμάχοισι.)	
(P xvii. 590. ἐνὶ προμάχοισι.)	
Z vi. 7. ἐνὶ Θρῄκεσσι.	

Odyssey—

xxii. χ 13. ἐνὶ πλεόνεσσι.
i. α 114. ἦστο ἐν μνηστῆρσιν.
xii. μ 383. ἐν νεκύεσσι φαείνω.
xiv. ξ 382. –μιν ἐν Κρήτεσσι ἰδέσθαι.
xxii. χ 234. ἐν ἄνδρασι δυσμενέεσσι.
(xx. υ 287. ἐν μνηστῆρσιν.)
xviii. σ 379. πρώτοισιν ἐν προμάχοισιν.
vii. η 62. ἐν Φαίηξιν ἄνασσε.
xix. τ 110. ἄνδρασιν ἐν πολλοῖσι.
ii. β 194. ἐν πᾶσιν
xix. τ 11. ἐν ὑμῖν.
(xvi. π 292. ἐν ὑμῖν.)
iv. δ 725. ἐν Δαναοῖσι.
(iv. δ 815. ἐν Δαναοῖσι.)
xiii. ν 298. ἐν πᾶσι θεοῖσι.
iv. δ 281. ἐν μέσσοισι.
(xxiv. ω 441. ἐν μέσσοισι.)
iii. γ 379. ἐν Ἀργείοισι.
v. ε 3. ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσι.
(ii. β 46. ἐν ὑμῖν.)
xxiii. ψ 144. ἐν δέ σφισιν.
xiv. ξ 205. ἐνὶ Κρήτεσσι.
i. α 95. ἐν ἀνθρώποισι.
(iii. γ 78. i. α 391. iv. δ 710. xvii. ρ 419. xix. τ 75.)
(xvi. π 378. ἐν πᾶσιν.)
xvii. ρ 265. ἐν πολλοῖσι.
(xvii. ρ 354. ἐν ἄνδρασι.)
(xviii. σ 138. xiv. ξ 176.)
xxii. χ 217. ἐν δὲ σὺ τοῖσιν.

§ 15. As regards the second usage—ἐν with *abstract words*—we have in all for the Odyssey 21 instances (or, excluding repetitions, 14). But then for the Iliad we have 26 (or, excluding repetitions, 18). And of these Iliadic instances Book xxiii. furnishes only 1 and Book x. only 2. Book xxiv. contains 3, but so does Book xxii., and, of those 3, 2 are from *the Menis* itself. Book ix. has as many as 5 (or, including repetition, 6).

An examination of the list will show further that, in the Additions, except for Book ix., the *character* of the phrases is limited, being almost confined to the formula ἐν φιλότητι. On the other hand, xxii. has three distinct types.

ἐν with *abstracts*. (See Ebeling, ἐν iii. B, c, d.)

Original Iliad (xxiii. and xxiv.)—

Ψ xxiii. 671. ἐν πάντεσσ' ἔργοισιν δαήμονα.
Ω xxiv. 130. ἐν φιλότητι.
428. καὶ ἐν θανάτοιό περ αἴσῃ.
568. ἐν ἄλγεσι θυμὸν ὀρίνῃς.

Remaining instances from the *Original*—

O xv. 426. μάχης ἐν στείνεϊ τῷδε.
741. ἐν χερσὶ φόως, οὐ μειλιχίῃ πολέμοιο.
X xxii. 483. ἐνὶ πένθεϊ λείπεις.
199. ἐν ὀνείρῳ διώκειν (*the Menis*).
61. αἴσῃ ἐν ἀργαλέῃ (*the Menis*).

Additions (ix. and x.)—

ix. I 230. ἐν δοίῃ δὲ (ἔσμεν).
319. ἐν δὲ ἑῇ τίμῃ.
491. ἐν νηπιέῃ ἀλεγέινῃ.
143 (285). τρέφεται θαλίῃ ἐνὶ πολλῇ.
378. τίω δέ μιν ἐν καρδὶ αἴσῃ.
x. K 245 (279). ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι.

Remaining instances from the *Additions*—

(B ii. 232. ἐν φιλότητι.)
(Ξ xiv. 237, 314, 331, 360. ἐν φιλότητι.)
(H vii. 302. ἐν φιλότητι.)
Θ viii. 476. στείνει ἐν αἰνοτάτῳ.
O xv. 195. τριτάτῃ ἐνὶ μοίρῃ.
T xix. 186. ἐν μοίρῃ δίκεο.

Odyssey—

xxii. χ 54. ἐν μοίρῃ πέφαται.
viii. θ 313. καθεύδετον ἐν φιλότητι.
(Perhaps an interpolation.)

xxi. φ 79. μεμνήσεσθαι . . . ἔν περ ὀνείρῳ.
(*cp.* Il. X xxii. 199, *the Menis*.)
xix. (τ 541. ἔν περ ὀνείρω.)
(τ 581. ἔν περ ὀνείρω.)
xiii. ν 301. ἐν παντέσσι πόνοισι.
xx. (υ 48. ἐν παντέσσι πόνοις.)
vii. η 51–2. θαρσαλέος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμείνων |
ἔργοισιν τελέθει.
iv. δ 497. ἐν νόστῳ ἀπόλοντο.
(xi. λ 384. ἐν νόστῳ ἀπόλοντο.)
(v. ε 108. ἐν νόστῳ ἀλίτοντο.)
(xxiv. ω 96. ἐν νόστῳ ἀλίτοντο.)
v. ε 395. ὃς ἐν νόυσῳ κῆται.
x. κ 465. θυμὸς ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ.
xi. λ 603. τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς.
vii. η 212. ἐν ἄλγεσιν.
xx. υ 23. ἐν πείσῃ.
xiii. ν 292. ἐν πάντεσσι δόλοισι.
xv. ο 357. ἐν ὠμῷ γήραϊ.
xix. τ 360. ἐν κακότητι.
(xxi. φ 88. ἐν ἄλγεσι.)

I add a list of "temporal" usages with ἐν, because it is interesting to note that 4 cases occur in the Odyssey and 4 in the Original Iliad (3, perhaps all 4, being from *the Menis* itself), while none occur elsewhere. (Repetitions are included.)

"Temporal" use.

Original Iliad—

ii. B 471. ὥρῃ ἐν εἰαρίνῃ (*the Menis*).
xvi. Π 643. ὥρῃ ἐν εἰαρίνῃ (possibly *the Menis*).
xviii. Σ 251. ἰῇ δ' ἐν νυκτὶ (*the Menis*).
xi. Λ 173. ἐν νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ (*the Menis*).

Odyssey—

χ xxii. 301. ὥρῃ ἐν εἰαρίνῃ.
σ xviii. 367. ὥρῃ ἐν εἰαρίνῃ.
μ xii. 76. οὔτ' ἐν θέρει οὔτ' ἐν ὀπώρῃ.
ρ xvii. 176. ἐν ὥρῃ δεῖπνον ἑλέσθαι.

To these might be added ἐν φάει, "in daylight," occurring in the Odyssey, φ xxi. 429, and also in the Original Iliad, P xvii. 647, and nowhere else.

ἐν θυμῷ and ἐν φρεσὶ are common both in the Iliad and the Odyssey. But these phrases should not be included; they are

obviously on quite a different footing from such a phrase as *ἐνὶ πένθεϊ λείπεις* (Il. xxii. X 483). They are rather to be classed with such quasi-anatomical expressions as *ἐν κραδίῃ* or *ἐν στήθεσσι*, and the latter should certainly not be called a case of *ἐν* with an *abstract* word.

§ 16. *ἐκ*, c. gen., "*in consequence* of." "Odyssean" (H. G., § 223). This is certainly more common in the Odyssey, though it is not common even there. It occurs 5 times (or possibly 7), including repetitions). There seem to be only two clear instances in the whole Iliad. But one of them is from *the Menis* (the other from the Additions).

Iliad—

I ix. 566. *ἐξ ἀρέων μητρὸς κεχολωμένος.*
Λ xi. 308. (*The Menis*) *σκίδναται ἐξ ἀνεμοῖο ἰωῆς.*

(Ebeling, *ἐκ* iii. E, c, *β*, *γ*.)

Odyssey—

iii. γ 135. *πολέες κακὸν οἶτον ἐπέσπον*
μήνιος ἐξ ὀλοῆς γλαυκῶπιδος.
xviii. σ 224. *ὧδε πάθοι ῥυστακτύος ἐξ ἀλεγεινῆς;*
xix. τ 114. *θάλασσα δὲ παρέχῃ ἰχθῦς*
ἐξ εὐηγεσίης (a somewhat doubtful instance).
xv. ο 197. *ξεῖνοι δὲ διαμπερὲς εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι*
ἐκ πατέρων φιλότητος.
vi. ζ 29. *ἐκ γὰρ τοι τούτων φάτις ἀνθρώπους ἀναβαίνει.*

iv. δ 343. } *ἐξ ἔριδος Φιλομηλείδῃ ἐπάλαισεν.*
xvii. ῥ 134. }

The last phrase is doubtful. Some trans. "in a match." The phrase re-occurs in Iliad, H vii. 111 (part of the Additions), where it apparently means "out of enmity."

In connection with *ἐκ* it may be worth noting that the phrase *ἐκ πολεμοῖο* (also found in the Odyssey, γ iii. 192, ω xxiv. 43) appears to be a favourite phrase of the Original Iliad, occurring there no less than 17 times, while it is only to be found 4 times in the Additions.

Ebeling (*ἐκ*, iii. E, b) notes that the phrase is confined to certain Books of the Iliad, but suggests no explanation.

The references are—

Original—

iii. Γ 428. vi. Z 480. xi. Λ 590 (*the Menis*). xii. M 123. xviii. Σ 307. xi. Λ 752 (*the Menis*) and 811. vi. Z 501. xi. Λ 597 (*the Menis*). xvii. P 700, 735. xi. Λ 612 (*the Menis*) and 663. xvii. P 189, 239, 452. xix. T 73.

Additions—

v. E 409. xiii. N 211, 515. xxi. Φ 422.

§ 17. *Inf.* after ὥστε and *rels.* (in a *consecutive* sense). "Odyssean" (H. G., § 235).

There is a real change here, but a very slight one, as Monro's own instances show.

The inf. with ὥστε, so familiar in prose afterwards, occurs *once* in the Odyssey and *once* in the Additions (Il. I ix.), and nowhere else in Homer.

Additions—

ix. I 42. ἐπέσσυται ὥς τε νέεσθαι.

Odyssey—

xvii. ρ 20. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ σταθμοῖσι μένειν ἔτι τηλίκος εἰμὶ.
ὥς τ' ἐπιτειλαμένῳ . . . πιθέσθαι.

There are also 3 instances, and only 3, of οἷός τε, all in the Odyssey, and 1 solitary instance of ὅσσον τε, only in the Odyssey.

Odyssey—

τ xix. 160.
φ xxi. 117, 173.
ε v. 484.

It is possible that this change also is due to a desire for a more colloquial tone. Certainly in the instance with ὥστε (xvii. ρ 20) Odysseus is deliberately imitating the style and language of an old beggar-man, *e.g.* xvii. 24, αἰνῶς . . . κακά, "terribly shabby" (of his clothes).

It may be added that in the Original Iliad a *consecutive* inf., though it does not occur after a *rel.*, does occur frequently after other words, *e.g.*—

Original Iliad—

iv. Δ 510. ἐπεὶ οὔ σφι λίθος χρὼς οὐδὲ σίδηρος
χαλκὸν ἀνασχέσθαι.
("so as to withstand," Monro.)

vi. Z 463. χήτει τοιοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς ἀμύνειν δούλιον ἦμαρ.
("For need of such a man to save you," *i.e.* "who was such an one as to save you.")

§ 18. *Acc.* and *Inf.*, where the acc. has no construction except as the subject of the inf. "Odyssean" (H. G., § 237, 3).

The change, if real, is again exceedingly slight.

Monro admits that the construction occurs in the Iliad after impersonal verbs, and after *πρίν* and *πάρος*. He only claims as peculiar to the Odyssey the use after other words; and for such a use he only gives 3 instances. Comparison will show how near these are to the Iliadic usage.

(1) *Odyssey*—

δ iv. 210. ὡς νῦν Νέστορι δῶκε διαμπερὲς ἤματα πάντα
αὐτὸν μὲν λιπαρῶς γηράσκεμεν.

Original Iliad—

Δ iv. 341. σφῶϊν μέν τ' ἐπέοικε μετὰ πρώτοισι ἐόντας
ἑστάμεν.

(H. G., 1st edition, § 240.)

We might also compare with this Odyssean instance the use of the acc. and inf. after δός—a use found in the Original Iliad as well as in the Odyssey. This use is classed by Monro under the inf. of *wish* (H. G., § 361. *Cp.* Goodwin, G, M, and T, § 785 fin.). But that does not prevent it from being analogous to the Odyssean instance in question.

The following instances will show the analogy:—

Original Iliad—

Γ iii. 118. δὸς δέ τέ μ' ἄνδρα ἑλεῖν.
Ω xxiv. 309. δὸς μ' ἐς Ἀχιλλῆος φίλον ἐλθεῖν ἠδ' ἐλεεινόν.

Odyssey—

ι ix. 530. δὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσῆα . . . οἰκάδ' ἱκέσθαι.

(2) *Odyssey*—

κ x. 530–533. δὴ τότ' ἔπειθ' ἑτάροισιν ἐποτρῦναι καὶ ἀνώξαι
μῆλα, τὰ δὴ κατάκειτ' ἐσφαγμένα νηλέι χαλκῷ,
δείραντας κατακῆαι.

Original Iliad (*Menis*)—

A i. 313. λαοὺς δ' Ἀτρεΐδης ἀπολυμάινεσθαι ἄνωγε.

This Iliadic instance is classed by Monro, no doubt rightly, among the cases where the acc. has *also* "a grammatical construction with the governing verb" (§ 237, 1). But as *ἄνωγα* nearly always takes the acc. of the person commanded and not the dat., it is natural to supply an acc. in the *Odyssean* instance also, understanding *αὐτούς*, *i.e.* *ἑτάρους*, after *ἄνωξαι*.

(3) *Odyssey*—

ξ xiv. 193–195. εἴη μὲν νῦν νῶιν ἐπὶ χρόνον ἡμὲν ἐδωδὴ
ἡδὲ μέθυ γλυκερὸν κλισίης ἔντοσθεν ἐοῦσι,
δαίνυσθαι ἀκέοντ' (for ἀκέοντε).

ἀκέοντε may be the nom. and not the acc. at all. In any case the confusion of case and number (νῶιν, ἐοῦσι, ἀκέοντε) shows how loose and inchoate the construction is. Moreover, the inf. here is plainly the *dätival* inf., and we have in the early Additions to the Iliad a clear case of a dätival inf. with the acc.

I ix. 230. ἐν δοίῃ δὲ σαώσεμεν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι | νῆας.
(H. G., § 231.)

(There are no instances of the construction in Il. xxiii. and xxiv. (Ψ and Ω), that is, if we follow Monro in excluding the cases introduced by πρίν, πάρος, impersonal verbs, and δός.)

§ 19. *Gen. Abs.*—The sole difference claimed in this respect is that the *aor. partic.* is rarer in the Odyssey, occurring there only 3 times. But out of the 16 Iliadic instances given by Monro (H. G., § 246), only 7 come from the Original Iliad. And in 3 out of the 7, it may be added, the pres. would not make sense, viz.—

Original Iliad (*the Menis*)—

X xxii. 47. Τρώων εἰς ἄστυ ἀλέντων.
(Spoken by Priam when the gates are shut.)
288. σεῖο καταφθιμένοιο.
383. τοῦδε πέσοντος.

The other 4 instances are—

Λ xi. 509 (*the Menis*). Π xvi. 306. Τ xix. 62, 75.

In any case the rarity of the aor. in the gen. abs. could not make for the later origin of the Odyssey; rather, if any stress were to be laid on it at all, it would tell just the other way, the aor. being quite as common in later Greek as the pres., and, if anything, implying a more developed stage of the construction. (See H. G., § 246, *note*.)

§ 20. τίς combined with ὅδε, "peculiar to the Odyssey." (H. G., § 248.)

This may be granted, but it cannot be said that the peculiarity is

marked, for apparently there are only 2 instances in the whole of the poem (both of them, necessarily, in *speeches*)—

Odyssey—

ζ vi. 276. τίς δ' ὅδε Ναυσικάᾳ ἕπεται;
ν xx. 351. τί κάκον τόδε πάσχετε;

§ 21. ἕο as a *pure reflexive.*

"Excluding infinitival and subordinate clauses, there are 43 examples in the Iliad, against 18 in the Odyssey . . . the use is mainly preserved in fixed combinations, ἀπὸ ἕο, προτὶ οἷ, &c." (H. G., § 253.)

These numbers tally with those given by Ebeling, omitting the cases where the plur. σφεῖς is followed by αὐτοί. But of the 43 Iliadic cases only 18 are from the Original, so that the fall in the Odyssey is very slight. And the proportion of fixed prepositional phrases is actually higher in the Original Iliad than it is in the Odyssey (13 out of 18 as against 12). It is to be noted that there are 5 instances from Iliad xxiii. and xxiv. (Ψ and Ω). (Repetitions are included.)

Ebeling οὗ, ii. B (p. 106, vol. ii.) σφεῖς B.

Original Iliad—

Sing.—

Δ iv. 497. ἀμφὶ ἓ παπτήνας.
Ο xv. 574. ἀμφὶ ἓ παπτήνας.
Ψ xxiii. 203. κάλεόν τέ μιν εἰς ἓ ἕκαστος.
Ω xxiv. 134. (φησὶ) ἐὲ κεχολῶσθαι.
Τ xix. 385. εἰ οἱ ἐφαρμόσσειε.
Υ xx. 418. προτὶ οἷ δ' ἔλαβ' ἔντερα.
Π xvi. 47. ἔμελλεν | οἷ αὐτῷ θάνατον λίτεσθαι.
Ψ xxiii. 126. φράσσατο Πατρόκλῳ . . . ἤριον ἠδὲ οἱ αὐτῷ.
Ε v. 96. πρὸ ἕθεν κλόνεοντα φάλαγγας.
Ζ vi. 62. ἀπὸ ἕθεν ὥσατο.
Μ xii. 205. ἀπὸ ἕθεν ἦκε.
Τ xix. 384. πειρήθη δ' ἕο αὐτοῦ ἐν ἔντεσι.

Plur.—

i. Α 368. τὰ μὲν δάσσαντο μετὰ σφίσιν.
iv. Δ 535. οἳ ἕ ὦσαν ἀπὸ σφίσιν.
xi. Λ 413. μετὰ σφίσιν πῆμα τίθεντες.
xxii. Χ 474. αἳ ἕ μετὰ σφίσιν εἶχον.
xxiii. Ψ 698. (οἳ μιν) . . . μετὰ σφίσιν εἶσαν.
xxiii. Ψ 703. τὸν δὲ ἑνὶ σφίσι τῖον.

Additions—

Sing.—

O 241.
Ξ 162.
Υ 171.
I 306.
I 392.
P 551.
Φ 507.
K 307.
N 495.
E 343.
N 163.
Υ 261.
K 465.
N 803.
Υ 278.
E 800.

Plur.—

K 208.
K 311.
K 398.
K 409.
B 366.
E 626.
N 148.
N 688.
M 148.

Odyssey (Sing.)—

xvii. ρ 387. πτωχὸν τρύοντα ἕ αὐτόν.
(*i.e.* the speaker, not the beggar.)
xxii. χ 436. εἰς ἕ καλεσσάμενος.
xxiv. ω 347. τὸν δὲ προτὶ οἷ | εἶλεν.
xxii. χ 19. ἀπὸ εἷο τραπέζαν ὦσε.
xxi. φ 304. οἱ δ' αὐτῷ κακὸν εὕρετο.
xxi. φ 136. ἀπὸ ἕο θῆκε.
xxi. φ 163. ἀπὸ ἕο θῆκε.
xv. ο 285. πὰρ δὲ οἱ αὐτῷ εἶσε.
xvii. ρ 330. ἐπὶ οἷ καλέσας.
xvii. ρ 342. ἐπὶ οἷ καλέσας.
xvii. ρ 507. ἐπὶ οἷ καλέσασα.
xix. τ 481. ἔθεν ἆσσον ἐρύσσατο.
vii. η 217. ἦ τ' ἐκέλευσεν ἕο μνήσασθαι.
v. ε 459. ἀπὸ ἕο λῦσε.
ix. ι 398. ἔρριψεν ἀπὸ ἕο.
ix. ι 461. ἀπὸ ἕο πέμπε.
xi. λ 433. ἦ δὲ οἷ τε κατ' αἶσχος ἔχευε.
viii. θ 211. ἕο δ' αὐτοῦ πάντα κολούει.

Apparently there are no cases of the *Plur.* (without αὐτοί).

§ 22. Uses of the Article

[H. G., 259, *a* (2); 261 (1, 3).]

It is widely held that the Article is used more freely in the Odyssey than in the Iliad; and, within the Iliad itself, more freely in Books I ix., K x., Ψ xxiii., and Ω xxiv., than elsewhere. But I think it can be shown that the increased freedom supposed is extremely slight in the Odyssey, and non-existent in Ψ xxiii. and Ω xxiv. To explain my statistics I must go over familiar ground, adding some comments of my own.

Within certain limitations Homer uses the Article, not as a Demonstr. pronoun, but in the Attributive or quasi-Attributive sense found in Attic—in short, almost like our English "the." It is such usages that we must classify for comparison, and we may divide them as follows, noting those that may be called exceptional:—

1. The use with *adversative particles:* αὐτάρ, μέν, δέ, ἀλλά, &c., *e.g.* οἱ δὲ θεοί.

2. With *numerals* or *quasi-numerals* where an adversative sense is unmistakable, *e.g.* ὁ πρῶτος, ὁ ἄριστος, οἱ ἄλλοι, οἱ πλέονες, τὸ πρὶν, τὸ πάρος.

It seems to me a great mistake to stretch this class so widely as to include τὸ κρήγυον and τὰ κακά in Iliad i. A 107. If we can find a contrast in these cases, we can find one in any.

3. With *possessives*, or as a *quasi-possessive*, *e.g.* τὸν ἐμὸν χόλον, τοῦ πατρός.

4. With words *half-way between noun and adjective*, as γέρων, γεραιός, ξεῖνος.

ξεῖνος, I think, ought to be included here; for in view of later usage it is perverse to deny it an adjectival force, when that force is natural, as in Ω xxiv. 202, ἀνθρώπους ξείνους. Therefore the prevalence of the *collocation* ὁ ξεῖνος in the Odyssey implies no development in the use of the Article. And that the *word* ξεῖνος should prevail is only natural, considering the subject-matter.

5. With ἄναξ and ἥρως, "where, however, the Pronoun is the important word, the Noun being subjoined as a kind of title" (H. G., 261, 3 *a*).

6. The use before *relative clauses*, where the Article *precedes* the noun, *e.g.* τῆς γάρ τοι γενεῆς ἧς κτλ, "from that race from which." I cannot feel it satisfactory to include here the cases where the Article *follows* the noun, *e.g.* ἤματι τῷ ὅτε, because there the Article is *in apposition* to the noun, retaining its pronominal force, and the use is dropped in later Greek.

7. (*a*) With *patronymics*, *e.g.* τῷ Νηλιάδῃ.
(*b*) With *genitives*, *e.g.* τίμης τῆς Πριάμου.
(*c*) With *participles*, *e.g.* τῷ νικήσαντι.

Note that these three usages, though comparatively rare, do not imply a lessening in the demonstrative and pronominal force of the Article. On the contrary, τὴν αὐτοῦ, with the omission of ἄλοχον, is only possible where τήν is still felt as = *her*. (*Cp.* in English a phrase such as "him of Antioch," where "the of Antioch" would be quite impossible.)

8. Other usages, esp. the simple *defining* use, *e.g.* ἐπεὶ τὸν μῦθον ἄκουσε, ὁ μόχλος, τὸ τόξον.

I propose to mark only those cases which fall under (7) and (8) as exceptional. I may add that, as Homer possesses οὗτος and ὅδε, we ought not to insist on a *deictic* force for the Article unless the context plainly demands it (as it does, *e.g.*, in Iliad x. K 330, τοῖς ἵπποισιν, "*those* horses"; i. A 340, τοῦ βασιλῆος ἀπήνεος, "*that* ruthless king").

Proceeding on this basis we obtain the following statistics, which may appear surprising. In the Books of the Odyssey the proportion of Attributive usages, *taken as a whole*, never rises above an average of 3 per cent., and only reaches this 3 times (in xi. λ, xiv. ξ, and xviii. σ). The proportion of *exceptional* usages never reaches an average of 2 per cent., and in only one Book (xviii. σ) is it above 1 per cent. And sometimes there are no exceptional usages at all.

Now in the first Book of *the Menis* (A i.) the proportion of Attributive usages in general is fully 3 per cent. (18 cases in c. 550 lines, excluding repetitions), while the proportion of exceptional usages is also high (8 cases).

In the next Book, Λ xi., the proportion of general cases is actually above 3 per cent., 22 cases in less than 700 lines, and of these 4 are exceptional. Nor does the average appear to drop appreciably in other parts of *the Menis*, or to drop below the Odyssey in other parts of the Iliad.

On the other hand, the comparison of the Iliadic and Odyssean instances in the list given below will make it clear that *one* class of exceptional usages *is* more frequent in the Odyssey, and *exhibits greater variety*. This is the simple *defining* use with common nouns (8), where no distinguishing adjectives and no adversative particles precede the noun. This fact does not appear in my figures. But it is of considerable importance, because this usage is among the most highly developed of all the "exceptional" types. Allowing due weight, then, to this fact on the one hand, and to the lowness of the Odyssean percentages on the other, we conclude that the increased freedom claimed for the Odyssey is real, but exceedingly slight.

Turning to the two last Books of the Iliad, we find that xxiv. Ω actually shows a *lower* proportion both of Attributive usages in general

and exceptional usages in particular than either of the first two Books of *the Menis* (i. A or xi. Λ). It has only 14 cases in 804 lines, and of these only 3 are exceptional.

Book xxiii. Ψ, it is true, has a higher percentage for the *general* usages than *the Menis*, but the increase is very slight. It does not amount to a gain of even 1 per cent., the figures being:—30 instances in about 810 lines. Of these not more than 8 are exceptional. And the increase, such as it is, can easily be accounted for. Most of the instances occur in "The Games," and "The Games" call for a constant use of the Article in enumerating the prizes and distinguishing the competitors, *e.g.* τῷ πρώτῳ, τῷ δευτέρῳ, τῷ τριτάτῳ, τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ, all in 5 lines (265–269); τὸν δέξιον ἵππον, τοῖς ἄλλοισιν (336, 342).

As my results differ so widely from the conclusions usually accepted, I have given in full for the Original Iliad, the Odyssey, and the bulk of the Additions, all the instances of the Article that appear to me to bear the Attributive sense. It will be observed that Iliad x. K really does show a high percentage both of the usages in general and of the exceptional usages, and also a great variety of type. For this Book, therefore, I think the ordinary view is justified.

There remain three small points connected with the Odyssey:—

(1) The use with δέ, αὐτάρ, &c., is claimed by Monro as "Iliadic" (H. G., § 259 *a*); but the difference here does not seem sufficient to justify the claim.

(2) On the other hand, it may be admitted that the use with μέν *is* "Iliadic" (§ 259 *b*); although to Monro's one Odyssean instance, iii. γ 270 ("seemingly the only instance in the Odyssey"), we must add 7 more. (See the list below.)

This "Iliadic" usage occurs twice in Il. xxiii. Ψ and twice in xxiv. Ω.

(3) The use with *relative clauses where the Article precedes the noun* is, as Monro states, "commoner in the Odyssey" (§ 261). Indeed there are only 4 cases in the Original Iliad. Now these 4 do *not* occur in xxiii. Ψ or xxiv. Ω, but in v. E, vi. Z, xviii. Σ, and xix. T.

Original Iliad—[1]

i. A (omitting 430*b*–489). *The Menis*—

6. τὰ πρῶτα.
11. οὕνεκα τὸν Χρύσην ἠτίμησ' ἀρητῆρα.
20. τὰ δ' ἄποινα δέχεσθαι.
33. ἔδδεισεν δ' ὁ γέρων. (380, 462.)

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[1] Repetitions are indicated in brackets, but not included in the enumeration.

The references for the "exceptional" usages are italicised.

The usages with μέν and with the *rel.* are marked with a cross.

35. ὁ γεραιός.
54. τῇ δεκάτῃ δ'.
70. τά τ' ἐόντα.
70. τά τ' ἐσσόμενα.
106. οὔ πώ ποτέ μοι τὸ κρήγυον εἶπας.
107. αἰεί τοι τὰ κακ' ἐστὶ φίλα.
× 165. τὸ μὲν πλεῖον.
167. σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μεῖζον.
185. τὸ σὸν γέρας.
198. τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὔ τις. (300.)
207. τὸ σὸν μένος.
342. τοῖς ἄλλοις (465. τἄλλα. 597. τοῖς ἄλλοισι).
552. ποῖον τὸν μῦθον.
576. τὰ χερείονα νικᾷ.

18 in 551 lines (611 – 60). 8 exceptional.
Rate for general usages—3 per cent.
Rate for exceptional usages—Above 1 per cent.

(430*a*–489. Suspected as Odyssean.
462. ὁ γέρων.)

ii. B—
16. τὸν μῦθον.
80. τὸν ὄνειρον.

iii. Γ—
54. τά τε δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης.
55. ἥ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος (possessive).
73. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι. (94, 256.)
109. ὁ γέρων. (181, 259.)
138. τῷ δὲ κε νικήσαντι. (255.)
225. τὸ τρίτον.
225. ὁ γεραιός.

9 in (461 + c. 170). 4 exceptional.

iv. Δ—
1. οἱ δὲ θεοί.
25. ποῖον τὸν μῦθον.
42. τὸν ἐμὸν χόλον.
260. Ἀργείων οἱ ἄριστοι.
267. τὸ πρῶτον.
308. οἱ πρότεροι.
310. ὁ γέρων.
399. ἀλλὰ τὸν υἱὸν | γείνατο εἷο χέρεια (possessive).
429. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι.

9 in 544. 1 exceptional.

v. E—

54. τὸ πρὶν.
× 145, 6. τὸν μὲν . . . τὸν δ' ἕτερον.
150. ὁ γέρων.
× 271. τοὺς μὲν τέσσαρας.
272. τὼ δὲ δύ'.
308. αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἦρως. (327.)
× 265. τῆς γάρ τοι γενεῆς . . . ἧς κτλ.

8 in c. 360. None exceptional.

vi. Z—

41. οἱ ἄλλοι. (402.)
125. τὸ πρίν.
166. τὸν δὲ ἄνακτα.
186. τὸ τρίτον.
201. πέδιον τὸ Ἀλήιον.
× 292. τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν.
391. τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν.
407. τὸ σὸν μένος.
435. οἱ ἄριστοι.
467. ἄψ δ' ὁ παῖς.
489. τὰ πρῶτα.
490. τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα.
523. τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κῆρ.

13 in 529. 2 exceptional.

xi. Λ—

69. τὰ δὲ δράγματα.
× 103. ὁ μὲν νόθος.
142. τοῦ πατρὸς . . . τίσετε λώβην (possessive).
156. οἱ δέ τε θάμνοι.
174. τῇ δέ τ' ἰῇ.
178. τὸν ὀπίστατον.
189. τὸν δ' ἄλλον λαὸν ἄνωχθι. (204.)
264. τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν. (540.)
267. ἐπεὶ τὸ μὲν ἕλκος ἐτέρσετο. (848.)

The μέν goes with ἐτέρσετο in 267, but with ἕλκος in 848.

406. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Δαναούς.
483. αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἦρως.
524. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι. (367.)
560. οἵ τε παῖδες.
571. τὰ δὲ δοῦρα.
608. τῷ ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ.
613. τά γ' ὄπισθε.

614. *τῷ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ.*
632. *ὁ γεραιὸς.* (645.)
637. *ὁ γέρων.* (790.)
658. *οἱ γὰρ ἄριστοι.*
660. *ὁ Τυδείδης κρατερὸς Διομήδης.*

[Lines 670–760 suspected by the Separatists—

691. *τῶν προτέρων ἐτέων.*
693. *οἱ δ' ἄλλοι.*
696. *ὁ γέρων.* (703.)
702. *τὸν δ' ἐλατῆρα.*
704. *τὰ δ' ἄλλα.*
706. *τὰ ἕκαστα.*]

763. *Ἀχιλλεὺς | οἷος τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπονήσεται* (possessive).

Omitting suspected portion—22 in c. 697 lines. 4 exceptional. (Or 28 in c. 780 lines. 5 exceptional.)

xii. M—

40. *τὸ πρόσθεν.*
93. } *τῶν δ' ἑτέρων.*
94. } *τῶν δὲ τρίτων.*
98. } *τῶν δὲ τετάρτων.*
104. *τῶν ἄλλων.*
280. *τὰ ἃ κῆλα.*
289. *τὸ δὲ τεῖχος.*
346. *τὸ πάρος περ.* (359.)
420. *τὰ πρῶτα πέλασθεν.*

9 in c. 370. None exceptional.

xv. O 390–746—

656. *τῶν πρωτέων.*

1 in c. 357.

xvi. Π (*the Menis*)—

25. *βέβληται μὲν ὁ Τυδείδης κρατερὸς Διομήδης.*
40. *τὰ σὰ τεύχεα.*
53. *τὸν ὁμοῖον* (generic).
× 173. } *τῆς μὲν ἰῆς στίχος.*
179. } *τῆς δ' ἑτέρης.*
191. *ὁ γέρων.*
193. } *τῆς δὲ τρίτης.*
196. } *τῆς δὲ τετάρτης.*

358. Αἴας δ' ὁ *μέγας.*
440. *ποῖον τὸν μῦθον.*
573. *τὸ πρίν.*
697. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι. (763.)
705. *τὸ τέταρτον.* (786.)

13 in 867. 4 exceptional.

xvii. P—

80. Τρώων *τὸν ἄριστον.*
122. *ἀτὰρ τά γε τεύχε'.* (693.)
127. *τὸν δὲ νέκυν.*
193. *τὰ ἅ.*
260. *τῶν δ' ἀλλων.* (370, 280.)
612. *τὰ πρῶτα.*
635. *τὸν νεκρόν.*
720. *τὸ πάρος περ.*

509 and 587 are from an interpolation.
8 in c. 754 – c. 100 = 8 in c. 654. 1 exceptional.

xviii. Σ—

10. Μυρμιδόνων *τὸν ἄριστον.*
21. *ἀτὰρ τά γε τεύχεα.*
103. *ἑτάροισι | τοῖς ἄλλοις.*
451. *τὰ ἅ τεύχεα.*
457. *τὰ σὰ γούναθ'.*
× *485.* *τὰ τείρεα πάντα, τά τ' οὐρανός ἐστεφάνωται.*
486. *τό τε σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο.*
495. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες. (559.)
503. οἱ δὲ γέροντες.
509. *τὴν δ' ἑτέρην πόλιν.*
574. αἱ δὲ *βόες.*
583. οἱ δὲ *νομῆες.*

12 in 617. 2 exceptional.

xix. T—

× 21. *τὰ μὲν ὅπλα.*
42. *τὸ πάρος γε.*
× 105. *τῶν ἄνδρων . . . οἵ θ' . . . εἶσι.* (111.)
117. ὁ δ' ἕβδομος . . . *μείς.*
322. *τοῦ πατρὸς* (possessive).
345. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι.

6 in c. 350. None exceptional.
172, 176, and 331 are from the interpolations.

xx. Υ 381–503 (*the Menis*)—

447. τὸ τέταρτον.
454. τοὺς ἄλλους.
502. αἵ τ' ἀπ' ἐπισσώτρων (*sc.* ῥαθάμιγγες).

3 in c. 180. 1 exceptional.

xxi. Φ 1–138 (*the Menis*)—

5. ἤματι τῷ προτέρῳ.
17. αὐτὰρ ὁ διογενὴς.
× 71. τῇ ἑτέρῃ μὲν.
72. τῇ δ' ἑτέρῃ.

4 in 138.

522–611 end—

526. ὁ γέρων Πρίαμος.
554. οἱ ἄλλοι.

2 in c. 90. None exceptional.

xxii. Χ 1–404 (*the Menis*)—

25. ὁ γέρων Πρίαμος. (33, 37.)
59. ἐμὲ τὸν δύστηνον.
Cp. Od. vii. η 223.
151. ἡ δ' ἑτέρη.
156. τὸ πρὶν.
208. τὸ τέταρτον.
233. τὸ πάρος. (250.)
280. τὸν ἐμὸν μόρον.
380. οἱ ἄλλοι.

8 in c. 400. 1 exceptional.

459. τὸ ὂν μένος.

1 in c. 100 (latter part). None exceptional.

xxiii. Ψ 1–257*a*. Funeral of Patroclus—

35. Αὐτὰρ τόν γε ἄνακτα ποδώκεα Πηλείωνα.

In line 173, τῷ γε ἀνακτί, the τῷ is *deictic*—"*that* chief," *i.e.* Patroclus, as distinguished from Achilles, the subject of the sentence before. Lang, Leaf, and Myers translate "the dead chief." *Cp.* A i. 340.

75. τὴν χεῖρα (possessive).
149. ὁ γέρων.
229. οἱ δ' ἄνεμοι.
257a. χεύαντες δὲ τὸ σῆμα.

257*b* to end, 897 (omitting 798–883). "The Games"—

265. } τῷ πρώτῳ . . . τῷ δευτέρῳ.
267. } τῷ τριτάτῳ.
269. } τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ. (Counted as 4.)
275. τὰ πρῶτα. (523, 538.)
295. Αἴθην τὴν Ἀγαμεμνονέην, τὸν ἑόν τε Πόδαργον. (525.)
(Possessive.) Counted as 2 cases.
303. τοῦ Νηληιάδαο.
Cp. xi. 614. τῷ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ (*the Menis*).
324. τὸ πρῶτον. (523, 538.)
325. τὸν προὔχοντα.
Cp. i. 70. τά τ' ἐόντα (*the Menis*).
336. τὸν δέξιον ἵππον.
342. τοῖς ἄλλοισιν. (399.)
348. τοὺς Λαομέδοντος.
376. αἱ Φηρητιάδαο ποδώκεες ἔκφερον ἵπποί.
× 454. τὸ μὲν ἄλλο.
465. τὸν ἡνιόχον.
480. τὸ πάρος περ. (782.)
572. τοὺς σοὺς.
583. τὸ πρόσθεν.
585. τὸ ἐμὸν δόλῳ ἄρμα.
640. τὰ μέγιστα.
656. τῷ δ' ἄρα νικηθέντι. (663.)
× *702.* τῷ μὲν νικήσαντι.
733. τὸ τρίτον.
896. ὅ γ' ἦρως.
30 in c. 810 lines. 8 exceptional.

xxiv. Ω—

201. τὸ πάρος περ.
236. ὁ γέρων. (326, 424, 571, 689, 777.)
242. παῖδ' ὀλέσαι τὸν ἄριστον.
252. ὁ γεραιὸς. (279, 302, 322.)
338. τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν. (456.)
388. τὸν οἶτον ἀπότμου παιδὸς.
497. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους.
× 498. τῶν μὲν πολλῶν.
531. τῶν λυγρῶν.
× 543. τὸ πρὶν μὲν.
598. τοίχου τοῦ ἑτέρου.
612. τῇ δεκάτῃ. (665.)
667. τῇ δὲ δυωδεκάτῃ.
801. χεύαντες δὲ τὸ σῆμα.
14 in 804 lines. 3 exceptional.

Additions—

ii. B, 93–454, 484–760, 816–877—

278. ὁ πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεύς.
281. οἳ πρῶτοί τε καὶ ὕστατοι νῖες Ἀχαιῶν.
329. τῷ δεκάτῳ δέ.
428. τἄλλα. (665.)
576. τῶν ἑκατὸν νηῶν.
595. Θάμυριν τὸν Θρήϊκα.
623. τῶν δὲ τετάρτων.
685. τῶν αὖ πεντήκοντα νεῶν.
8 in c. 700. 2 exceptional.

v. E, 127–132, 330–905 end—

131. τοῖς ἄλλοις.
414. τὸν ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν.
715. τὸν μῦθον.
794. τόν γε ἄνακτα.
806. ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.
5 in c. 470. 1 exceptional.

vii. H, 8–end—

84. τὸν δὲ νέκυν.
91. τὸ δ' ἐμὸν κλέος.
161. ὁ γέρων. (324.)
248. τῇ δ' ἑβδομάτῃ.
370. ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.
412. τὸ σκῆπτρον.
443. οἱ δὲ θεοὶ.
7 in c. 476. 1 exceptional.

viii. Θ—

× 73. αἱ μὲν Ἀχαιῶν κῆρες.
87. ὁ γέρων. (90.)
136. τὼ δ' ἵππω.
× 186. τὴν κομίδην . . . ἣν.
209. ποῖον τὸν μῦθον.
211. τοὺς ἄλλους.
268. αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἦρως.
342. τὸν ὀπίστατον (generic).
360. πατὴρ θυμός.
430. τὰ ἅ.
478. τὰ νείατα πείραθ'.
532. ὁ Τυδείδης κρατερὸς Διομήδης.
12 in 565. 3 exceptional.

ix. I—

× 1. ὣς οἱ μὲν Τρῶες.
55. τὸν μῦθον. (309.)
93. ὁ γέρων. (259, 662, 690.)
133. τῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβήμεναι (possessive).
204. οἱ γὰρ φίλτατοι ἄνδρες.
219. τοίχου τοῦ ἑτέροιο.
320. ὅ τ' ἀεργὸς ἀνὴρ, ὅ τε πολλὰ ἐοργώς. (Counted as 2.)
342. τὴν αὐτοῦ.
403. τὸ πρὶν.
417. τοῖς ἄλλοισι. (684.)
505. ἥ δ' Ἄτη.
524. τῶν πρόσθεν . . . ἀνδρῶν.
559. ἀνδρῶν | τῶν τότε.
× 579. τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ.
654. τῇ ἐμῇ κλισίῃ.

16 in 713. 5 exceptional.

x. K—

11. ἐς πεδιόν τὸ Τρωικὸν.
77. ὁ γεραιὸς.
97. ἐς τοὺς φύλακας καταβήομεν.
154. αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἦρως.
190. τοὺς δ' ὁ γέρων.
231. ἤθελε δ' ὁ τλήμων Ὀδυσεύς. (498.)
× 235. τὸν μὲν δὴ ἕταρόν γ' αἱρήσεαι.
236. φαινομένων τὸν ἄριστον.
253. τῶν δύο μοιράων.
256. τὸ δ' ἓδν.
277. τῷ ὄρνιθι.
309. ὣς τὸ πάρος περ. (396.)
321. τὸ σκῆπτρον.
× 322. τοὺς ἵππους . . . οἵ.
363. ὁ πτολίπορθος Ὀδυσσεύς.
408. πῶς δ' αἱ τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων φυλακαί. (2 cases.)
506. τῶν πλεόνων Θρῄκων.
536. ὁ κράτερος Διομήδης.
539. Ἀργείων οἱ ἄριστοι.
561. τὸν τρισκαιδέκατον.

20 in 579. 8 exceptional.

xiii. N—

20. τὸ δὲ τέτρατον.
53. ὅ γ' ὁ λυσσώδης.
× 83. τοὺς ὄπιθεν . . . οἵ.
101. τὸ πάρος περ. (228.)

105. τὸ πρίν.
(128. οἱ γὰρ ἄριστοι, but very likely οἵ γὰρ ἄριστοι.)
164. αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἦρως.
169. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι. (540.)
278. ὅ τε δειλὸς ἀνήρ.
× 279. } τοῦ μὲν γάρ τε κακοῦ.
284. } τοῦ δ' ἀγαθοῦ.
368. ὁ γέρων Πρίαμος.
433. ἀνὴρ ὤριστος.
564, 5. τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μεῖν' . . . τὸ δ' ἦμισυ.
× 640. τὰ μέν ἔντε'.
679. τὰ πρῶτα.
× 689. οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναίων προλελεγμένοι.
698. αὐτὰρ ὁ Ἰφίκλοιο πάις.
× 719. } οἱ μὲν πρόσθε.
721. } οἱ δ' ὄπιθεν.
745. τὸ χθίζον.
20 or 21 in 837. 3 exceptional.

xiv. Ξ—
20. ὁ γέρων.
31. τὰς γὰρ πρώτας.
131. τὸ πάρος περ.
189. τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάνευθε θεῶν.
213. Ζηνὸς γὰρ τοῦ ἀρίστου.
× 270. } χειρὶ δὲ τῇ δ' ἑτέρῃ μὲν. . . .
271. } τῇ δ' ἑτέρῃ.
274. οἱ ἔνερθε θεοὶ.
278. θεοὺς ἅπαντας τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους.
280. τελεύτησέν τε τὸν ὅρκον.
330. πῶιον τὸν μῦθον ἔειπες.
368. οἱ ἄλλοι.
373. τὰ μακρότατ' ἔγχε' ἔλοντες.
460. τῷ Τελαμωνιάδῃ.
503. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ Προμάχοιο δάμαρ.
15 in 522. 8 exceptional.

xv. O, 1–389—
37. τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ.
58. τὰ ἅ πρὸς δώματα.
67. τοὺς ἄλλους.
72. τὸ πρὶν.
74. τὸ Πηλείδαο . . . ἐέλδωρ.
134. τοῖς ἄλλοισι.
305. ἡ πληθύς.
7 in 389. 3 exceptional.

xx. Υ 1–380—

23. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι.
× 75. ὣς οἱ μὲν θεοί.
123. τὸ πάρος περ.
147. τὸ κῆτος.
181. τιμῆς τῆς Πριάμου.
271. τὰς δύο χαλκείας.
272. τὴν δὲ μίαν.
320. ὁ κλυτὸς ἦεν Ἀχιλλεύς.
352. τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων.

9 in 380. 3 exceptional.

xxi. Φ 139–521—

166. τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ.
177. τὸ δὲ τέτρατον.
207. τὸν ἄριστον.
252. τοῦ θηρητῆρος.
262. τὸν ἄγοντα.
305. τὸ ὂν μένος.
317. τὰ τεύχεα καλά.
371. οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες. (518.)
412. τῆς μῆτρος (possessive).
421. ἡ κυνάμυια.
478. τὸ πρὶν.

11 in c. 400. 4 exceptional.

Odyssey—

i. α—

26. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι. (157.)
257. τὰ πρῶτα.
322. τὸ πάροιθεν.
× 351. τὴν γὰρ ἀοιδὴν . . . ἥ τις νειοτάτη.
356. τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα.

5 in 444. None exceptional.

ii. β—

21. οἱ ἄλλοι.
× 51. τῶν ἀνδρῶν . . . οἳ.
58. τὰ δὲ πολλὰ.
97. τὸν ἐμὸν γάμον.
134. τοῦ πατρὸς (possessive, "her father").
206. εἵνεκα τῆς ἀρετῆς (possessive).
277. οἱ πλεόνες.
305. ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.
312. ὡς τὰ πάροιθεν.

351. κεῖνον τὸν κάμμορον.
378. τὸν ὅρκον.
403. τὴν σὴν ὁρμήν.
12 in 434. 2 exceptional.

iii. γ—

92. τὰ σὰ γούναθ' ἑνάνω.
145. ὡς τὸν Ἀθηναίης δεινὸν χόλον ἐξακέσαιτο.
× 265. τὸ πρὶν μὲν.
× 270. τὸν μὲν ἀοιδόν.
299. ἀτὰρ τὰς πέντε νέας.
× 319. ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπιον ὄθεν οὐκ ἔλποιτο.
390. ὁ γέρων. (393, 459.)
363. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι. (427.)
462. τἄλλα.
374. ὁ γεραιός.
10 in 497. 1 exceptional.

iv. δ—

13. τὸ πρῶτον. (159, 509.)
32. τὸ πρίν. (518.)
70. ἵνα μὴ πενθοίνθ' οἱ ἄλλοι. (166.)
71. τῷ ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θωμῷ.
× 98. οἱ δ' ἄνδρες . . . οἵ.
111. ὁ γέρων. (191, 450, 455, 460.)
322. τὰ σὰ γούναθ' ἱκάνομαι.
688. τὸ πρόσθεν.
× 694. ὁ μὲν ὑμέτερος θυμός.
9 in 847 lines. None exceptional.

v. ε—

3. οἱ δὲ θεοί.
29. τά τ' ἄλλα.
55. τὴν νῆσον.
98. τὸν μῦθον. (183.)
× 106. τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἳ . . . μάχοντο.
185. καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ.
266. τὸν ἕτερον.
384. τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέμων.
8 in 493. 3 exceptional.

vi. ζ—

63. οἱ δύω.
× 165. τὴν ὁδὸν ἣ δὴ ἔμελλεν.
176. τῶν δ' ἄλλων.
3 in 331. None exceptional.

vii. *η*—

× 54–55. ἐκ δὲ τοκήων. . . .
τῶν αὐτῶν οἵ περ τέκον.
192. ὁ ξεῖνος. (227.)
201. τὸ πάρος γε.
223. ἐμὲ τὸν δύστηνον. (248.)
326. ἤματι τῷ αὐτῷ.
5 in 347. 2 exceptional.

viii. *θ*—

31. ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.
40. αὐτὰρ οἱ ἄλλοι. (107.)
101. ὁ ξεῖνος. (133, 251, 388, 402, 541.)
108. οἱ ἄριστοι.
195. τὸ σῆμα.
204. τῶν δ' ἄλλων. (212, 221.)
268. τὰ πρῶτα. (553.)
570. ὁ γέρων.
8 in 586. 1 exceptional.

ix. *ι*—

61. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι. (100, 193, 331, 370.)
× 65. τῶν δειλῶν ἑτάρων . . . οἳ θάνον, κτλ.
146. τὴν νῆσον. (543.)
181. τὸν χῶρον.
238. τὰ δ' ἄρσενα.
250. τὰ ἃ ἔργα. (310, 343.)
266. τὰ σὰ γοῦνα.
375. τὸν μοχλόν. (378.)
430. τὼ δ' ἑτέρω.
461. τὸν κρίον.
464. τὰ μῆλα ταναύποδα.
11 in 567. 5 exceptional.

x. *κ*—

29. τῇ δεκάτῃ.
34. οἱ δ' ἑταροί.
112. τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα.
117. τὼ δὲ δύο.
132. αἱ ἄλλαι. (250, 421, 449.)
240. ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.
354. ἡ δ' ἑτέρη.
356. ἡ δὲ τρίτη.
358. ἡ δὲ τετάρτη.
436. ὁ θράσυς εἶπετ' Ὀδυσσεύς.
520. τὸ τρίτον.
11 in 530. 1 exceptional.

xi. λ—

4. ἐν δὲ τὰ μῆλα. (20, 35.)
28. τὸ τρίτον.
66. τῶν ὄπιθεν.
168. τὰ πρώτιστα.
225. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες.
258. τοὺς δ' ἑτέρους.
298. τὴν Τυνδαρέου παράκοιτιν.
339. μηδὲ τὰ δῶρα . . . κολούετε.
376. τὰ σὰ κήδεα.
424. ἡ δὲ κυνῶπις.
452. ἡ δ' ἐμή.
470. τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν. (551, 541, 567.)
492. τοῦ παιδὸς ἀγανοῦ (possessive).
515. τὸ δν μένος.
519. τὸν Τηλεφίδην.
524. Ἀργείων οἱ ἄριστοι.
629. τὸ πρόσθεν.

17 in c. 580. 5 exceptional.

xii. μ—

16. τὰ ἕκαστα. (165.)
49. τῶν ἄλλων.
73. οἱ δὲ δύω σκόπελοι.
101. τὸν δ' ἕτερον σκόπελον.
125. τῆς Σκύλλης.
201. τὴν νῆσον. (276, 403.)
252. ἰχθύσι τοῖς ὀλίγοισι.
304. τὸν ὅρκον.
321. τῶν δὲ βοῶν.
365. τἄλλα.
373. οἱ δ' ἕταροι.
428. τὴν ὁλοὴν Χάρυβδιν.

12 in 453. 4 exceptional (or 5, if we count 252).

xiii. ν—

48. τὸν ξεῖνον. (52.)
68. τὴν δ' ἑτέρην.
69. ἡ δ' ἄλλη.
178. ὁ γέρων.
215. τὰ χρήματα.
262. τῆς ληίδος.
358. τὸ πάρος περ.

7 in 440. 2 exceptional.

xiv. ξ—

12. τὸ μέλαν δρυός.
19. τὸν ἄριστον. (108, 414.)
24. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι. (430.)
26. οἳ τρεῖς. . . .
26. τὸν δὲ τέταρτον.
61. οἱ νέοι.
173. ὁ γέρων.
185. τὰ σ' αὐτοῦ κήδεα.
× 235. τὴν στυγερὴν ὁδὸν . . . ἦ.
241. τῷ δεκατῷ δὲ.
375. τὰ ἕκαστα.
430. τἄλλα.
× 435. τὴν μὲν ἰάν. . . .
436. τὰς δ' ἄλλας.
467. τὸ πρῶτον.
512. τὰ σὰ ῥάκεα.

16 in 533. 2 exceptional.

xv. ο—

200. ὁ γέρων.
218. ἐγκοσμεῖτε τὰ τεύχεα.
395. τῶν δ' ἄλλων. (540.)
438. τὸν ὅρκον.
542. τὸν ξεῖνον.

5 in 557. 2 exceptional.

xvi. π—

50. τῇ προτέρῃ.
70. τὸν ξεῖνον. (78.)
133. τῶν δ' ἄλλων.
149. τοῦ πατρὸς.
334. τῆς αὐτῆς ἕνεκ' ἀγγελίης.

5 in 481. 1 exceptional.

xvii. ρ—

10. τὸν ξεῖνον. (14, 345, 398, 508, 544, 586.)
171. τὸ πάρος περ.
218. τὸν ὁμοῖον (twice).
273. τά τ' ἄλλα. (411, 592.)
348. τὸν μῦθον. (551, 574.)
358. ὅ τ' ἀοιδός. (But the reading is doubtful.)
415. ὁ κάκιστος Ἀχαιῶν. . . .
416. ἀλλ' ὥριστος.

8 in 606. 3 (or 2) exceptional.

xviii. σ—

26. ὁ μολοβρὸς.
38. ὁ ξεῖνος. (222, 401, 416, 420.)
59. τὸν ὅρκον.
62. τῶν δ' ἄλλων.
74. ὁ γέρων.
114. τοῦτον τὸν ἄναλτον.
229. καὶ τὰ χέρηα.
254. τὸν ἐμὸν βιόν.
275. τὸ πάροιθε.
333. τὸν ἀλήτην. (393.)
380. τὴν γαστέρα (possessive).
385. τὰ θύρετρα.
404. τὰ χερείονα.

13 in 427. 7 exceptional.

xix. τ—

94. τὸν ξεῖνον. (99.)
× 115. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα. (196.)
127. τὸν ἐμὸν βιόν.
142. τὸν ἐμὸν γάμον.
166. τὸν ἐμὸν γόνον.
202. τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ.
232. τὸν δὲ χιτῶνα.
340. τὸ πάρος πέρ.
372. αἱ κύνες αἵδε.
481. τῇ δ' ἑτέρῃ.
483. τῷ σῷ ἐπὶ μαζῷ.
504. τὰ γὰρ πρότερα.
× 573. τοὺς πελέκεας, τοὺς . . . ἵστασχε.

13 in 604. 1 exceptional.

xx. υ—

52. τὸ φυλάσσειν.
77. τὰς κούρας.
× 109. αἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἄλλαι. (122.)
110. ἡ δὲ μία.
129. τὸν ξεῖνον. (305, 324, 382.)
133. τὸν δέ τ' ἀρείονα.
× 158. αἱ μὲν ἐείκοσι.
167. τὸ πάρος περ.
224. τὸν δύστηνον.
310. τὰ χέρηα.

10 in 394. 4 exceptional.

xxi. φ—

32. τὸ πρίν.
113. τοῦ τόξου. (305.)
128. τὸ τέταρτον.
× 142. τοῦ χώρου . . . ὅθεν.
210. τῶν δ' ἄλλων.
244. καὶ τὼ δμῶε.
314. ὁ ξεῖνος. (424.)
350. τὰ δ' αὐτῆς ἔργα.
378. τὰ δὲ τόξα.
425. τοῦ σκοποῦ.

10 in 434. 2 exceptional.

xxii. χ—

104. καὶ τῷ βουκόλῳ.
114. τὼ δμῶε.
× 183. τῇ ἑτέρῃ μεν.
184. τῇ δ' ἑτέρῃ.
220. τά τ' ἔνδοθι καὶ τὰ θύρηφι.
254. τῶν δ' ἄλλων.
446. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες.

8 in 501. 4 exceptional.

xxiii. ψ—

28. ὁ ξεῖνος.
90. τοῦ ἑτέρου.
209. τά περ ἄλλα.
214. τὸ πρῶτον.
× 223. τὴν δ' ἄτην . . . ἐξ ἧς.
261. τὸν ἄεθλον.
306. αὐτὰρ ὁ διογένης Ὀδυσσεύς.

7 in 372. 2 exceptional.

xxiv. ω—

18. τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν. (79.)
132. τὸν ἐμὸν γάμον.
387. ὁ γέρων Δόλως.
486. τὸ πάρος. (508.)
498. υἷεῖς οἱ Δολίοιο.

5 in 548. 1 exceptional.

§ 23. τό, n., acc. rel. (=*in regard to which, wherefore*). "Iliadic" (H. G., § 262 (3)).

Certainly there is only one instance in the Odyssey, and that *may* be in an interpolation (the Song of Demodocus, Od. viii. θ 332).

But, to begin with, the use is very rare. Both Monro and Ebeling (vol. ii. p. 11) give only 6 instances for the whole of the Iliad. Further, of these 6 only 3 could be claimed, by any stretch, for the Original Iliad; and, finally, the 3 should, in all probability, be reduced to 1, and 1 alone—

iii. Γ 176. *τὸ καὶ κλαίουσα τέτηκα.*

Of the other two, the first is almost certainly part of an interpolation—

xvii. P 404–405. *τό μιν οὔποτε ἔλπετο θυμῷ | τέθναμεν.*

For the statement hinges on a prophecy of Thetis that not even Achilles and Patroclus together could take Troy (404–411), a prophecy of which Achilles shows no knowledge elsewhere, and which it is very hard to reconcile with his own expectation in xvi. (91 ff.) that Patroclus might attack the town.

In the second instance it is very doubtful whether *τό* is the right reading. But in any case, it cannot mean "*wherefore.*" The passage is (xxiii. Ψ 546–7)—

ἀλλ' ὄφελεν ἀθανάτοισιν
εὔχεσθαι· τῷ κ' (τό κεν?) οὔτι πανύστατος ἦλθε.

It must mean "in that case" (supposititious), and most editors read *τῷ*. This is what Monro does in his text (ed. 1881), though in his H. G. (*loc. cit.*) he classes it as an instance of *τό*. (If this instance were admitted, it would show that xxiii. Ψ follows the Iliadic and not the Odyssean example.)

§ 24. *ὅς* "is sometimes demonstr. in Iliad, never in Odyssey" (Jebb, *op. cit.*).

This result can only be obtained by refusing to allow a demonstr. meaning to *ὅς* whenever a relative sense can be made to appear possible.

But this is perverse, for it is most natural to suppose that the rel. sense grew gradually out of the demonstr. Monro in his 2nd edition (H. G., § 265) seems to throw some doubt on this; but the parallel growth of the rel. out of the demonstr. in the case of the Art. is strong evidence for it (H. G., § 262). Moreover, even in Attic the demonstr. use of *ὅς* survived in certain set phrases (*ἥ δ' ὅς, καὶ ὅς*).

However, if we do insist on classing as demonstr. only those cases of *ὅς* where the rel. sense is actually impossible, we shall discover that there are only 3 such cases in the whole of the Original Iliad, viz.—

Z vi. 59. *μηδ' ὅς φύγοι.*
X xxii. 201. (*The Menis*) *ὣς ὁ τὸν οὐ δύνατο μάρψαι ποσὶν, οὐδ' ὅς ἄλυξαι.*
Ψ xxiii. 319. *ἀλλ' ὅς μέν θ' ἵπποισι. . . .*

(Let it be noted that one of these is from Book xxiii.) But 3 instances will not take us very far. (There is 1 instance, and only 1, in the Additions—

Φ xxi. 198. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅς δείδοικε.)

But if we may adopt a less arbitrary method and class as demonstr. all cases where the demonstr. force is natural, then we shall find, I think, several such instances in the Odyssey.

Monro denies the cases with γάρ, holding that there γάρ = γε ἄρα (H G., §§ 265, 348); but analysis will show how hard it is to justify the denial. The natural meaning of γάρ in the following instance is certainly *for*, since the line where it occurs clearly gives the reason why Telemachus should apply to Menelaus for news.

Odyssey—

α i. 284–286—

πρῶτα μὲν ἐς Πύλον ἔλθε καὶ εἴρεο Νέστορα διόν,
κεῖθεν δὲ Σπάρτηνδε παρὰ ξανθὸν Μενέλαον·
ὃς γὰρ δεύτατος ἦλθεν Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων.

The resolution of γάρ into its primitive elements—γε ἄρα—is rather a two-edged argument, by the way, for those who insist on the *lateness* of the Odyssey. In the next instance the actual presence of ῥα makes this explanation seem more far-fetched than ever—

Odyssey—

ρ xvii. 172–173—

καὶ τότε δή σφὶν ἔειπε Μέδων· ὃς γάρ ῥα μάλιστα
ἤνδανε κηρύκων.

Again, in connection with the Iliadic passage from Ψ xxiii. 9,

ὃ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων,

Dr. Leaf (*ad loc.*) points out that "the phrase occurs five times with τό, and it is difficult not to believe that ὅ was here meant to be identical with τό."

The form with ὅ re-occurs in the Odyssey ω xxiv. 190.

There is another case with γάρ in the Original Iliad where the demonstr. force seems to me very hard to deny—

M xii. 344 (357)—

ἀμφοτέρω μὲν μᾶλλον· ὃ γάρ κ' ὄχ' ἄριστον ἁπάντων
εἴη.

I think, moreover, that, even where γάρ does not occur, a good case might be made out for the demonstr. force of ὅς in several passages from the Odyssey, *e.g.*—

ε v. 474–481—

δοιοὺς δ' ἄρ' ὑπήλυθε θάμνους,
. . . . . .
τοὺς μὲν ἄρ' οὔτ' ἀνέμων διάη μένος . . .
. . . . . , ὣς ἄρα πυκνοὶ
ἀλλήλοισιν ἔφυν ἐπαμοιβαδίς· οὓς ὑπ' Ὀδυσσεὺς
δύσετο.

Here the preceding *demonstr.* clause, τοὺς μὲν κτλ, strongly suggests that οὓς is demonstr. also.

Ebeling gives a large number of such instances from both Iliad and Odyssey, where, for one reason or another, he considers the demonstr. sense the most natural. But, omitting all such cases as too doubtful in a controverted question, and only adding to the list for both Iliad and Odyssey those cases for which I have argued, we have for the Odyssey 3 instances of ὅς demonstr., and for the Original Iliad only 5 (or, including repetition, 6). Once more, therefore, the change, if real, is very slight.

§ 25. οὕνεκα = "*that*" after a verb of *saying* (H. G., § 268).

This is certainly a little trait of the Odyssey. The word occurs there in that sense 6 times, and only once in the Iliad (in the Additions). (Ebeling, οὕνεκα (3), vol. ii. p. 111.)

Odyssey—

ε v. 216. η vii. 300. ν xiii. 309.
ο xv. 42. π xvi. 330, 379.

Iliad Additions—Λ xi. 21.

§ 26. On the other hand, ὅτι = "*that*," occurs 13 times in the Original Iliad, and only 4 times in the Odyssey. See Ebeling, ὅτι (1), vol. ii. p. 99. (H. G., § 268 (2).)

Odyssey—

ν xiii. 314. π xvi. 131.
ρ xvii. 269. σ xviii. 11.

Original Iliad—

A i. 537. (*The Menis*) ἰδοῦσ'.
Z vi. 231. γνώσιν.
Λ xi. 408. (*The Menis*) οἶδα.
P xvii. 630. γνοίη.
P xvii. 642. πεπύσθαι.

P xvii. 688. γιγνώσκειν.
P xvii. 655. εἰπεῖν.
Υ xx. 434. οἶδα.
Χ xxii. 439. ἤγγειλε.
Ψ xxiii. 670. οὐχ ἅλις.
Ψ xxiii. 545. φρονέων.
Ω xxiv. 538. κακόν.
Ω xxiv. 564. γιγνώσκω.

But here again the change, such as it is, cannot be made an argument for lateness. On the contrary, ὅτι, the Iliadic word, is the regular word in later Greek, οὕνεκα only a rare poetic exception. It is interesting to note that Iliad xxiii. and xxiv. follow in this respect the usage, not of the Odyssey, but of the Menis. Iliad ix. and x., on the other hand, have no instance of ὅτι.

The Odyssey seems also to show a special fondness for ὡς = (*a*) *how*, or (*b*) *that*, and it shows this fondness *throughout*, e.g.—

(*a*) γ iii. 194. (Ἀτρείδην . . . ἀκούετε) ὥς τ' ἦλθ' ὥς τ' Αἴγισθος ἐμήσατο.
ψ xxiii. 152. τὰ δ' οὐκ ἴσαν ὡς ἐτέτυκτο.
(*b*) τ xix. 465. (κατέλεξεν) ὥς μιν . . . ἔλασεν σῦς.
φ xxi. 209. γιγνώσκω δ' ὡς σφῶιν ἐελδομένοισιν ἱκάνω.

Ebeling gives two-score of such instances (not including the 11 cases that come together in the summary of Odysseus' adventures, ψ xxiii. 310–343, which is probably an interpolation). Against this there are only 10 instances from the Original Iliad. But they are such as to show that the use is thoroughly well established in all parts of that poem (including the Menis). There are also 10 instances in the Additions.

Ebeling, ὡς, A. d. (2), vol. ii. p. 496.

Original Iliad—

(*a*) ὡς = "*how*."

Π xvi. 17. (*The Menis*) Ἀργείων ὀλοφύρεαι, ὡς ὀλέκονται.
Ψ xxiii. 787. ἐρέω ὡς ἀθάνατοι τιμῶσιν.

Ebeling, ὡς, B. ii. 1, vol. ii. p. 500.

(*b*) ὡς = "*that*."

Α i. 110. (*The Menis*) ἀγορεύεις | ὡς δὴ τοῦδ'.
Δ iv. 360. οἶδα γὰρ ὥς τοι θυμὸς.
Ω xxiv. 662. οἴσθα γὰρ ὡς κατὰ ἄστυ ἐέλμεθα.
Σ xviii. 125. (*The Menis*) γνοῖεν δ' ὡς δὴ δηρὸν ἐγὼ πολέμοιο πεπάυμαι.
Χ xxii. 10. (*The Menis*) ἔγνως ὡς θεός εἰμι.

Ψ xxiii. 610. ἵνα γνώωσι καὶ οἵδε | ὡς.
Ψ xxiii. 648. χαίρει δὲ μοι ἦτορ
ὥς μευ μέμνησαι.
P xvii. 450. οὔχ ἅλις ὡς καὶ τέυχε' ἔχει;

§ 27. *Indirect Discourse.* (H. G., § 270.*)

Clauses after verbs of *saying* introduced by ὅτι, ὡς, οὕνεκα, &c. (called by Monro examples of *true* Indirect Discourse). These are said to be commoner in the Odyssey (Odyssey, 16; Iliad, 3).

But this only shows that reported conversations are more common in the Odyssey, which we could have inferred already from the subject-matter. It does not show a more developed syntax. ὅτι may mean "*that*" (and not "*because*") after a verb of *knowing* as well as after a verb of *saying*. It seems irrational, for instance, to separate the following examples:—

Iliad—

P xvii. 641–642. οὐδὲ πεπύσθαι
λυγρῆς ἀγγελίης, ὅτι οἱ φίλος ὤλεθ' ἑταῖρος.
P xvii. 655. εἰπεῖν ὅττι ῥά οἱ πολὺ φίλτατος ὤλεθ' ἑταῖρος.

But the second instance alone contains a verb of *saying*, and is alone included by Monro. For the other two Iliadic instances Monro gives—

X xxii. 439. (*Original*) ἤγγειλ' ὅττι ῥά οἱ πόσις ἔκτοθι μίμνε πυλάων,

and "16: 131," which must, I think, be a misprint for "17: 411," *i.e.*—

P xvii. 410–11. (*Additions*) οὔ οἱ ἔειπε κακὸν τόσον ὅσσον ἐτύχθη,
μήτηρ, ὅττι ῥά οἱ πολὺ φίλτατος ὤλεθ' ἑταῖρος.

But Monro might have added, I think, another one from the Menis:—

A i. 109–110. ἀγορεύεις
ὡς δὴ τοῦδ' ἕνεκα, κτλ.

No instances of the usage, so limited, occur in Ψ or Ω.

§ 28. *Attraction of the Rel.* "Odyssean" (H. G., § 271, 1).

Monro gives 7 instances from the Odyssey, of which 2 are repetitions. These are all from speeches, and I believe here again we have colloquialism designedly introduced, for it is plain that the construction is both lively and illogical. It is significant also that the only parallel given from the Iliad is drawn, not from xxiii. or xxiv., but from the Menis, and that here again the instance occurs in a speech:—

Original Iliad—

A i. 262. (*The Menis*) οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον . . . οἷον Πειρίθοον, κτλ.

Odyssey—

κ x. 113. τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα
εὗρον ὅσην τ' ὄρεος κορύφην.
ι ix. 322. τὸ μὲν εἴσκεμεν
ὅσσον θ' ἵστον νηὸς.
ι ix. 325. τοῦ μὲν ὅσσον τ' ὀργυῖαν . . . ἀπέκοψα.
(κ x. 167. πεῖσμα, ὅσον τ' ὀργυῖαν . . . πλεξάμενος.)
κ x. 517. βόθρον ὀρύξαι ὅσον τε πυγούσιον.
(λ xi. 25. βόθρον ὄρυξ' ὅσσον τε πυγούσιον.)
τ xix. 233. τὸν δὲ χιτῶν' ἐνόησα . . .
οἷον τε κρομύοιο λόπον.

§ 29. *Final Rel. Clauses* (Rel. of *purpose*), with the *Subj.* "Odyssean" (H. G., § 282).

Doubtless these clauses are "much commoner" in the Odyssey. But, once more, this could not argue a later date for the Odyssey, because the idiom does not survive in Attic except in a few isolated phrases, the place of the Subj. being taken by the Fut. Ind. (H. G., § 282 fin.; Goodwin, Gk. M. and T., §§ 565–574). And once more, the main reason for the difference between the two poems lies in the greater prevalence of speech in the Odyssey. For the idiom, involving, as it does, "primary sequence," is suited not to narrative, but to speech, and all the instances, so far as I can discover, without one exception, occur in speeches. Finally, it is to be noted that this "Odyssean" idiom is much commoner in the Original Iliad, including Ψ, Ω, *and* the Menis, than in the Additions.

But the classification is not easy, for in many cases it is difficult to decide whether "purpose" or "emphatic prediction" is uppermost, *e.g.*—

Odyssey—

xi. λ 135. θάνατος . . . ἐλεύσεται ὅς κε σε πέφνῃ.

I have tried, however, to include all the borderland cases, following the suggestion of Monro that those sentences should be classed as Final "where the time of the (subordinate) Clause is fixed by that of the governing Verb" (H. G., § 289 (1) *b*).

The instances are mostly drawn from Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.*, pp. 129–132. But his list is not quite exhaustive, and I have added two cases from Ebeling's Lexicon. My results give—

18 from the Odyssey (of which 2 are doubtful).
12 „ „ Original Iliad (of which 6 are doubtful).
3 „ „ Additions (of which 2 are doubtful).

Odyssey—

A.—*Positive Sentences*—

σ xviii. 334–336. μή τις . . . ἀναστῃ
ὅς τις σ' . . .
δώματος ἐκπέμψῃσι.

τ xix. 403. αὐτός νυν ὄνομ' εὕρεο ὅττι κε θῆαι
παιδὸς παιδὶ φίλῳ.

ο xv. 311. ἡγεμόν' ἐσθλὸν ὄπασσον
ὅς κέ με κεῖσ' ἀγάγῃ.

δ iv. 29. ἦ ἄλλον πέμπωμεν ἱκάνεμεν ὅς κε φιλῃσῃ.

β ii. 213. δότε . . . εἴκοσ' ἑταίρους
οἵ κε μοι ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διαπρήσσωσι κέλευθον.

ζ vi. 37. (ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐπότρυνον πατέρα . . .)
ἅμαξαν ἐφόπλισαι ἥ κεν ἄγῃσι.

κ x. 288. τῇ, τόδε φάρμακον ἔσθλον ἔχων
ἔρχευ, ὅ κέν τοι . . . ἀλάλκῃσιν. (*Cp.* Il. iv. 191.)

π xvi. 349. ἐρέτας ἀγείρομεν οἵ κε τάχιστα
κείνοις ἀγγείλωσι. —

ι ix. 356. ἵνα τοι δῶ ξείνιον, ᾧ κε συ χαίρῃς.
(*Cp.* Il. Ω xxiv. 119.)

β ii. 192. θωὴν ἐπιθήσομεν ἥν κ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ
τίνων ἀσχάλλῃς.
(Not given by Delbrück.)

ν xiii. 400 (?). ἀμφὶ δε λαῖφος
ἔσσω, ὅ κε στυγέῃσιν ἴδων ἄνθρωπος ἔχοντα.

It is doubtful if there is any trace of "purpose" to be discovered here. The natural meaning is surely *not* "I will give you a cloak *for* men to hate when they see it," but simply "a cloak *of the kind that* men hate." It is more naturally taken as a *limiting descriptive* clause of the kind that is common throughout Homer. (H. G., § 283.) I proceed with the list:—

xviii. σ 84–86. πέμψω σ' ἠμειρόνδε
εἰς Ἔχετον . . .
ὅς κ' ἀπὸ ῥῖνα τάμῃσι.

xvii. ρ 383–385 (?). (In the speech of Eumæus.)
(τίς γὰρ δὴ ξεῖνον καλεῖ)
ἄλλον γ', εἰ μὴ τῶν οἵ δημιοεργοὶ ἔασι. . . .
ἦ καὶ θέσπιν ἀοιδὸν, ὅ κεν τέρπῃσιν ἀείδων.

This too is probably purely descriptive, as the analogy with l. 383

suggests: "one of those that are craftsmen—or even a god-like minstrel who can delight all with his song" (B. and L.).

κ x. 539. (Speech of Circe.) ἔνθα μάντις ἐλεύσεται
ὅς κέν τοι εἴπησιν.
(Perhaps repeated δ iv. 389. But there the ὅς may be demonstr.)

λ xi. 135. θάνατος . . . ἐλεύσεται, ὅς κέ σε πέφνῃ.
(Repeated ψ xxiii. 282.)

δ iv. 756. (οὐ γὰρ οἴω) . . .
ἔχθεσθ', ἀλλ' ἔτι πού τις ἐπέσσεται ὅς κεν ἔχῃσι
δώματα.

B.—*Negative Sentences*—

β ii. 42. οὔτε τιν' ἀγγελίην . . . ἔκλυον
ἣν χ' ὑμῖν σάφα εἴπω.

ζ vi. 201. (Speech of Nausicaa.)
οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνήρ . . . οὐδὲ γένηται
ὅς κεν . . . ἵκηται.

Original Iliad—

A.—*Positive Sentences*—

Φ xxi. 126. (*The Menis.*) (Speech of Achilles.)
φρῖχ' ὑπαΐξει
ἰχθύς ὅς κε φάγῃσι.

Ω xxiv. 119. (147, 196.) (Speech of Zeus, Iris, Priam.)
δῶρα δ' Ἀχιλλῆι φέρεμεν, τά κε θυμὸν ἰήνῃ.

Γ iii. 287 (459). (Speech of Agamemnon.)
τίμην . . .
ἥ τε καὶ ἐσσομένοισι μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέληται.

Δ iv. 191. (Speech of Agamemnon.)
ἐπιθήσει
φάρμαχ', ἅ κεν παύσῃσι μελαινάων ὀδυνάων.
(This is not given by Delbrück, but *cp.* Od. κ x. 288, which is.)

B.—*Negative Sentences*—

Φ xxi. 113. (*The Menis.*) (Speech of Achilles.)
νῦν οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅς τις θάνατον φύγῃ.

Ψ xxiii. 345. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅς κε σ' ἕλῃσι.

It is to be noticed that the Menis (xxi. Φ 113) agrees at once with Iliad iii. Γ 287, 459, and with the Odyssey, xviii. σ 334 (the first instance given above), in furnishing a case of the Subj. *without* κε in such sentences. And these 3 cases appear to be the only certain examples.

Monro adds, apparently, (§ 282)—

E v. 33. (*Original Iliad.*)
οὐκ ἂν δὴ Τρῶας . . . ἐάσαιμεν
μάρνασθ' ὀππότεροισι . . . Ζεὺς κῦδος ὀρέξῃ.

But it seems to me that this is more naturally taken as an indirect question. He also suggests—

Σ xviii. 466. τεύχεα παρέσσεται
οἷά τις . . . θαυμάσσεται

(also from the Original Iliad).

But the mood may be Fut. Ind., as Monro observes.

It is more likely that we ought to include 4 cases where clauses with the Subj. follow the Rel. *Adverbs* ὅτε, ὅποτε, all of which Monro classes among Final or Quasi-Final sentences (H. G., § 289), viz.—

Original Iliad—

Δ iv. 164. (Speech of Agamemnon.)
ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρή.
(Repeated Z vi. 448 by Hector.)

Z vi. 454. ὅσσον σεῦ (μέλει) ὅτε
κέν τις δακρυόεσσαν ἄγηται.

T xix. 336. (ἐμὴν προτιδέγμενον . . .) ἀγγελίην, ὅτ' ἀποφθιμένοιο
πύθηται.

Φ xxi. 111. (*The Menis.*)
ἔσσεται ἢ ἠὼς ἢ . . .
ὁππότε τις καὶ ἐμεῖο . . . θυμὸν ἕληται.

Additions—

I ix. 166. κλήτους ὀτρύνομεν, οἵ κε τάχιστα
ἔλθωσ' ἐς κλισίην.

Delbrück and Monro include—

H vii. 171. κλήρῳ νῦν πεπάλαχθε διαμπερές ὅς κε λάχῃσιν.

But it seems to me that this, (like E v. 33), is more naturally taken as an indirect question—"draw lots to *see* who shall be chosen."

There is also 1 instance in the Additions of the Rel. Adverb with the quasi-final force—

Θ viii. 373. ἔσται μὰν ὅτ' ἂν αὖτε φίλην γλαυκώπιδα εἴπῃ.

§ 30. κε (ν), c. Subj. in Conditional Rel. Clauses where the reference is *general*, not limited to *particular* circumstances. "Odyssean" (H. G., § 283).

The fine-spun argument here seems to me based on a distinction

which cannot be maintained and on emendations which cannot be justified.

Monro holds, apparently, that the limitation to particular circumstances which ought to be suggested by κεν is only applicable "(with few exceptions) when the governing Verb is a Future or implies futurity" (§ 283, *b*). But surely, Present or Future, wherever a *condition* is conceived, there the conception of limitation to particular circumstances is in place. It just depends on the poet's point of view whether he adopts that conception or not. Secondly, Monro admits 35 instances in both Iliad and Odyssey where κε(ν), c. Subj., occurs without any clear reference to the future. Most of these, then, he proposes to get rid of by emending κε to τε, a proceeding which appears to me perfectly arbitrary. Where κεν occurs, however, this expedient cannot be used. Now 6 out of the 35 cases have κεν, and all 6 happen to come from the Odyssey. It is then suggested that the Odyssey has lost the delicate distinction between Future-and-Particular on the one hand and Present-and-General on the other, which was apparent in the Iliad. But if this distinction is illusory, or if the emendations are unjustifiable, the whole argument falls to the ground.

I give the 6 instances in question from the Odyssey side by side with 4 instances from the Iliad (Original) and 1 from the Odyssey, all of which happen to be chosen by Monro himself as typical of the strict usage. The comparison is instructive.

Odyssey—

(1) θ viii. 586. ἐπὶ οὐ μέν τι κασιγνήτοιο χερείων
γίγνεται, ὅς κεν ἑταῖρος ἐὼν πεπνυμένα εἰδῇ.

Cp. Iliad—

Γ iii. 65. οὗτοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα,
ὅσσα κεν αὐτοὶ δῶσιν.

I cannot myself see any more reference to the future in the Iliadic than in the Odyssean instance. Paris is referring to his gift of beauty.

(2) ο xv. 21. κείνου βούλεται οἶκον ὀφέλλειν ὅς κεν ὀπυίῃ.

Cp.—

ζ vi. 158. κεῖνος δ' αὖ περὶ κῆρι μακάρτατος . . .
ὅς κέ σ' ἐέδνοισι βρίσας οἰκόνδ' ἀγαγήται.

(3) ο xv. 55. τοῦ γάρ τε ξεῖνος μιμνήσκεται . . .
ἀνδρὸς ξεινοδόκου, ὅς κεν φιλότητα παρασχῇ.

Cp. Iliad—

A i. 316. (*Menis*) οὐ γὰρ ἐμὸν παλινάγρετον . . .
οὐδ' ἀτελεύτητον, ὅ τι κεν κεφάλῃ κατανεύσω.

(4) o xv. 345. κακὰ κήδε' ἔχουσιν
ἄνερες, ὅν κεν ἵκηται ἄλη καὶ πῆμα καὶ ἄλγος.

Cp. Iliad—

A i. 139. (*Menis*) ὁ δέ κεν κεχολώσεται, ὅν κεν ἵκωμαι.

(5) and (6) υ xx. 295. (Repeated φ xxi. 313.)
. . . οὐ γὰρ καλὸν ἀτέμβειν οὐδὲ δίκαιον
ξείνους Τηλεμάχου, ὅς κεν τάδε δώμαθ' ἵκηται.

Cp. the instance just given from the Menis, and note that Monro himself suggests that "with the change of Number we seem to pass from a general description to a particular instance."

§ 31. Opt. with κεν of *unfulfilled conditions* (referring to "what *would have* followed on an event which did not occur"). (H. G., § 300 (*c*).)

E.g.—

E v. 311. καί νύ κεν ἔνθ' ἀπόλοιτο . . . Αἰνείας,
εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὀξὺ νόησε κτλ.
"Iliadic" (H. G., *loc. cit.*).

This may be granted, and indeed it appears also to be characteristic of the Original Iliad as against the Additions.

Monro gives 12 instances from the Original,[1] excluding one repetition (Ω xxiv. 220–223), and only 3 from the Additions, 2 of which are repetitions. He gives 3 from the Odyssey (2 of which seem doubtful).

Now the construction, although it may add a certain liveliness to narrative, is not a very good one, for it obliterates the useful distinction between what can and what cannot happen. That is why it is not followed up in later Greek, and I believe that is why our original "Homer," after experimenting with it for some time, gave it up himself.

The instances given by Monro are—

Original Iliad—

B ii. 81. (*Menis.*)
εἰ μέν τις τὸν ὄνειρον Ἀχαιῶν ἄλλος ἔνισπε,
ψεῦδός κεν φαῖμεν καὶ νοσφιζοίμεθα μᾶλλον.
Γ iii. 220. φαίης τε ξάκοτόν τε τιν' ἔμμεναι.
Δ iv. 223. Ἔνθ' οὐκ ἂν βρίζοντα ἴδοις Ἀγαμέμνονα.
Δ iv. 429, 539.
E v. 85, 311.
M xii. 58.
O xv. 697.
P xvii. 70, 366, 398.
(Ω xxiv. 220–223. *Cp.* B ii. 81.)

[1] One of these, however (Γ iii. 220), is without κεν or ἄν.

Additions—

(E v. 388. The same as E v. 311.)
(Ξ xiii. 127. The same as P xvii. 398.)
Ξ xiii. 343.

Odyssey—

(ε v. 73. ἔνθα κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἀθάνατός περ ἐπελθὼν
θηήσαιτο ἰδών.
Doubtful. Might refer to the future.)

(η vii. 293. ἡ δ' οὔ τι νοήματος ἤμβροτεν ἐσθλοῦ,
ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἔλποιο νεώτερον ἀντιάσαντα
ἔρξεμεν.
Doubtful. Might refer to the future.)

ξ xiii. 86. ἡ δὲ μαλ' ἀσφαλέως θέεν ἔμπεδον· οὐδέ κεν ἴρηξ
κίρκος ὁμαρτήσειεν.

§ 32. *Opt. of Concession.*—The use of the Opt. *in the first pers.* followed by ἄν or κεν, to indicate *willingness to act* on the part of the speaker, and not simply *the mere possibility of a result.* "Odyssean" (H. G., § 300 (*d*) (*a*)).

This is true, but the reason is clear. Here again the increased frequency in the usage is due to the greater prevalence of speech in the Odyssey, for obviously the construction can only occur in speeches. And though it is much commoner in the Odyssey (over 40 instances), it is thoroughly well established in the Original Iliad, including the Menis (20 instances). I give the instances for the latter, and references to Ebeling for the former.

In drawing up a list, three points should be borne in mind:—

(1) Any list must be more or less tentative, because it is very seldom that the meaning of *will* is undeniable. This is because the significance of the Opt. "ranges from the expression of a wish . . . to the admission of possibility" (H. G., § 299), while ἄν (κεν) merely indicates that the statement is made in view of certain circumstances. Thus it comes about that the instances almost always lie "on the border-between the two meanings" of *will* and *result*, as Monro himself points out. Critics may well differ as to whether a given passage implies a willingness to act or merely states the possibility of the action resulting.

(2) Sentences with an εἰ-clause must not necessarily be excluded, because a condition may be fully stated, and yet the notion of will in the "apodosis" may be quite unmistakable, *e.g.*—

Iliad—

Z vi. 128, 129. εἰ δέ τις ἀθανάτων γε κατ' οὐρανοῦ εἰλήλουθας,
οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε θεοῖσιν ἐπουρανίοισι μάχοιμην.

This is not a mere statement of *result*, but an expression of what Diomede's *will* would be under the circumstances.

(3) On the other hand, sentences with a *verb* of *will* (ἂν ἐθέλοιμι, βούλοιμ' ἄν) ought to be excluded. For here the idea of will is given by the meaning of the verb itself, and there is no reason to assume that the *mood* also expresses it.

There are 5 instances from Il. xxiv., including one repetition, but, on the other hand, none from Il. xxiii.

Delbrück, *Synt. Forsch.*, i. pp. 200–245.
Ebeling, i., ἄν II; κε(ν) vol. i. pp. 711 ff.

Original Iliad—

(1) Without an εἰ-clause—

E v. 32. οὐκ ἂν δὴ Τρῶας μὲν ἐάσαιμεν ;
T xix. 415. (*Menis*) νῶϊ δὲ καί κεν ἅμα πνοιῇ Ζεφύροιο θέοιμεν.
T xix. 91. (*Menis*) ἀλλὰ τί κεν ῥέξαιμι ;
Υ xx. 426. (*Menis*) οὐδ' ἂρ' ἔτι δὴν
ἀλλήλους πτώσσοιμεν.
X xxii. 253. (*Menis*) ἕλοιμί κεν, ἤ κεν ἁλοίην.
Ω xxiv. 437. σοὶ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ πομπὸς καί κε κλυτὸν Ἄργος ἱκοίμην.
Π xvi. 16. (*Menis*) τῶν κε μάλ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀκαχοίμεθα.

(2) With an εἰ-clause (or its equivalent understood)—

X xxii. 20. (*Menis*) ἦ σ' ἂν τισαίμην, εἴ μοι δύναμίς γε παρείη.
Φ xxi. 561. (*Menis.*)
(556. εἰ δ' ἂν ἐγὼ . . . ἐάσω . . .)
ἐσπέριος δ' ἂν . . . ἀπονεοίμην.
Z vi. 129. εἰ δέ τις ἀθανάτων . . . εἰλήλουθας,
οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε θεοῖσιν . . . μαχοίμην.
B ii. 81. (*Menis*) εἰ μέν τις τὸν ὄνειρον . . . ἄλλος ἐνισπε,
ψεῦδός κεν φαῖμεν, καὶ νοσφιζοίμεθα μᾶλλον.

(Repeated
Ω xxiv. 222. εἰ γάρ τις . . . ἐκέλευεν
ψεῦδός κεν φαῖμεν κτλ.)
Ω xxiv. 297. εἰ δέ τοι οὐ δώσει . .
οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε . . . κελοίμην.
Ω xxiv. 370. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐδέν σε ῥέξω κακά καὶ δέ κεν ἄλλον
σεῦ ἀπαλεξήσαιμι.
Ω xxiv. 664. ἐννῆμαρ μέν κ' αὐτὸν . . . γοάοιμεν κτλ.
(See l. 660. εἰ μὲν δή μ' ἐθέλεις τελέσαι τάφον Ἕκτορὶ δίῳ.)
M xii. 324. (εἰ μὲν γὰρ . . . αἰεὶ δὴ μέλλοιμεν)
οὔτε κεν . . . μαχοίμην
οὔτε κε σὲ στέλλοιμι.
A i. 100. (*Menis*) τότε κέν μιν ἱλασσάμενοι πεπίθοιμεν.

P xvii. 102. εἰ δέ που . . . πυθοίμην,
ἄμφω κ' αὖτις ἰόντες ἐπιμνησαίμεθα χάρμης.
P xvii. 159. εἰ γὰρ . . . ἐνείη,
αἶψά κε Πάτροκλον ἐρυσαίμεθα Ἴλιον εἴσω.
P xvii. 162. (εἰ δ' οὗτος . . . ἔλθοι)
αἶψά κεν Ἀργεῖοι . . .
λύσειαν, καί κ' αὐτὸν ἀγοίμεθα . . .

§ 33. εἰ and Opt. (*Conditional Protasis*) after a Present, *i.e.* a Pres. Indic. "Odyssean" (H. G., § 311).

"The instances . . . are nearly all in the Odyssey—

α i. 414. οὔτ' οὖν ἀγγελίῃ ἔτι πείθομαι, εἴ πόθεν ἔλθοι."

But there appear to be only 4 in the Odyssey, all told. (See Lange, *Hom. Gebrauch der Partikel* εἰ). There are as many as 3 in the Iliad (2 from the Additions). And in any case a certain increase in the Odyssey is only to be expected here, for the Odyssey shows a *general* increase in Conditional Protasis clauses (εἰ and the Opt.) after *any* Mood. This general increase is perfectly natural also, because a Conditional Opt. is far more likely to occur in speeches than in narrative, expressing, as it does, a supposition that may or may not be fulfilled.

It will be seen that all the instances are from speeches. There are none from Il. xxiii. and xxiv.

Odyssey—

α i. 414. οὔτ οὖν ἀγγελίῃ ἔτι πείθομαι, εἴ ποθεν ἔλθοι.
η vii. 52. (Speech of Athena.)
. . . θαρσαλέος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμείνων
ἔργοισιν τελέθει, εἰ καὶ ποθεν ἄλλοθεν ἔλθοι.
ξ xiv. 56. ξεῖν', οὔ μοι θέμις ἔστ', οὐδ' εἰ κακίων σέθεν ἔλθοι,
ξεῖνον ἀτιμῆσαι.
θ viii. 138. οὐ γὰρ ἐγώ γέ τί φήμι κακώτερον ἄλλο θαλάσσης
ἄνδρα γε συγχεῦαι, εἰ καὶ μάλα καρτερὸς εἴη.

Original Iliad—

X xxii. 348. (*Menis.*) With εἴ κεν.
ὣς οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅς . . . ἀπαλάλκοι,
. . . . . .
οὐδ' εἴ κεν σ' αὐτὸν χρύσῳ ἐρύσασθαι ἀνώγοι
Δαρδανίδης Πρίαμος.

Additions—

I ix. 388. κούρην δ' οὐ γαμέω . . .
οὐδ' εἰ χρυσείῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ κάλλος ἐρίζοι.
I ix. 318. ἴσῃ μοῖρα μένοντι, καὶ εἰ μάλα τις πολεμίζοι.
(Speech of Achilles.)

§ 34. Opt. with εἰ, to express *wish*. "Iliadic." "In the Odyssey wish is not expressed by εἰ except in the combinations εἰ γάρ and εἴθε" (H. G., § 312). This can only be maintained if we rule out all those cases with εἰ which are followed by an "apodosis." But in several of these the idea of *wish* is distinctly present in the εἰ-clause, so that a point would be missed if it were not expressed in the translation, *e.g.*—

Odyssey—

ι ix. 455. (Polyphemus to his ram.)
εἰ δὴ ὁμοφρονέοις, ποτιφωνήεις τε γένοιο,
εἰπεῖν ὁππῇ κεῖνος ἐμὸν μένος ἠλασκάζει,
τῷ κέ οἱ ἐγκέφαλός γε διὰ σπέος ἄλλυδις ἄλλῃ
θεινομένου ῥαίοιτο πρὸς οὔδεϊ, κτλ.
"Ah, if thou couldst feel as I, and be endued with speech," &c. (B. and L.).

σ xviii. 371–375. εἰ δ' αὖ καὶ βόες εἶεν ἐλαύνεμεν
. . . . .
τῷ κέ μ' ἴδοις, κτλ.
"Or would again that there were oxen to drive," &c. (B. and L.).

Cp. just above, σ 366—
Εὐρύμαχ', εἰ γὰρ νῶιν ἔρις ἔργοιο γένοιτο.

Lange gives also xviii. σ 376, xi. λ 501, xx. υ 381, xi. λ 356, making 6 in all from the Odyssey, as against 3 such from the Iliad: xv. O 49, vii. H 28, xvii. P 102 (*Homerische Gebrauch der Partikel* εἰ, i. chap. 2 (1), pp. 49 ff., see also pp. 19 ff.).

It is true that there is no case in the Odyssey where some kind of apodosis is *not* definitely expressed in this way. But then there are only 4 such cases in the Iliad—3 from the Original, and 1 from the Additions. And in the 3 from the Original, it may be observed, an apodosis is instinctively supplied in thought, while the omission of its definite expression in words adds greatly (I believe adds designedly) to the verisimilitude of the utterance. In the two first instances the speakers are warriors in the very thick of the fight. It is fitting that what they say should be brief and even abrupt.

Original Iliad—

Menelaus, in the desperate fight over Patroclus, speaks three lines—

O xv. 569. "Ἀντίλοχ', οὔ τις σεῖο νεώτερος ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν,
οὔτε ποσὶν θάσσων οὔτ' ἄλκιμος ὥς σὺ μάχεσθαι·
εἴ τινά που Τρώων ἐξάλμενος ἄνδρα βάλοισθα."

Patroclus, in the struggle over Sarpedon, speaks six lines; I give the last four:—

Π xvi. 558. "κεῖται ἀνὴρ ὃς πρῶτος ἐσήλατο τείχος Ἀχαιῶν,
Σαρπηδών· ἀλλ' εἴ μιν ἀεικισσαίμεθ' ἑλόντες,
τεύχεά τ' ὤμοιιν ἀφελοίμεθα, καί τιν' ἑταίρων
αὐτοῦ ἀμυνομένων δαμασαίμεθα νηλέι χαλκῷ."

In the third instance Zeus is making a tentative suggestion for reconciliation between Achilles and Priam, and he does not wish to irritate Hera by pressing a definite conclusion, though it is abundantly clear what conclusion he has in mind—

Ω xxiv. 74. ἀλλ' εἴ τις καλέσειε θεῶν Θέτιν ἆσσον ἐμεῖο,
ὄφρα τί οἱ εἴπω πυκινὸν ἔπος, ὥς κεν Ἀχιλλεὺς
δώρων ἐκ Πριάμοιο λάχῃ ἀπό θ' Ἕκτορα λύσῃ.

The solitary instance from the Additions looks like a reminiscence of the phrase in the passage from Ω—

Κ x. 111. ἀλλ' εἴ τις καὶ τούσδε μετοιχόμενος καλέσειεν.

§ 35. εἰ γάρ, εἴθε. "Odyssean" (H. G., § 312).

As regards the use of εἴθε (αἴθε), there is actually a similarity between the Odyssey and the Original Iliad which may well be significant. In each poem it occurs nine times (excluding one repetition apiece), while it only occurs twice in the Additions (Lange, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff.; pp. 47 ff. for the cases with the Opt.; Ebeling, *s.v.* αἴθε, for the cases with ὄφελον).

The Iliadic list *includes* at once the Menis *and* Books xxiii. and xxiv., while it *excludes* ix. and x.

Original Iliad—

Δ iv. 313. εἴθ' . . . ὥς τοι γούναθ' ἕποιτο.
Λ xi. 670. εἴθ' ὡς ἡβώοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη.
(Ψ xxiii. 629. Repeated.)
Δ iv. 178. αἴθ' οὕτως ἐπὶ πᾶσι χόλον τελέσει' Ἀγαμέμνων.
Π xvi. 722. αἴθ' ὅσον ἥσσων εἰμί, τόσον σέο φέρτερος εἴην,
τῷ κε . . . ἀπερωησείας.
Χ xxii. 41. (*The Menis.*) αἴθε θεοῖσι φίλος τοσσόνδε γένοιτο,
ὅσσον ἐμοί· τάχα κέν ἑ κύνες . . . ἔδοιεν.
Α i. 415. (*The Menis.*) αἴθ' ὄφελες παρὰ νηυσὶν ἀδάκρυτος . . .
ἧσθαι.
Γ iii. 40. ἀ. ὀ. ἄγονός τ' ἔμεναι, κτλ.
Σ xviii. 86. (*The Menis.*) ἀ. ὀ. . . . μετ' ἀθανάτῃς ἁλίῃσι
ναίειν.
Ω xxiv. 253. αἴθ' ἅμα πάντες
Ἕκτορος ὠφέλετ' ἀντὶ . . . πεφάσθαι.

The Additions—

H vii. 157. εἴθ' ὡς ἠβώοιμι, βίη δέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη.
(The same as xi. 670.)
Ξ xiv. 84. αἴθ' ὄφελλες . . . στρατοῦ ἄλλου | σημαίνειν.

Odyssey—

β ii. 33. εἴθε . . . | Ζεὺς τελέσειεν.
ξ xiv. 468. εἴθ' ὡς ἠβώοιμι, βίη τέ μοι ἔμπεδος εἴη.
(*Cp.* the Iliadic verse, Λ xi. 670.)
ξ xiv. 440. αἴθ' οὕτως . . . φίλος Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιο
ὡς ἐμοί.
(Repeated xv. o 341, and *cp.* X xxii. 41.)
ρ xvii. 494. αἴθ' οὕτως . . . σε βάλοι . . . Ἀπόλλων.
σ xviii. 202. αἴθε μοι ὡς . . . θανατὸν πόροι Ἄρτεμις.
υ xx. 61. αἴθε μοι ἤδη
. . . ἐκ θυμὸν ἕλοιο.
η vii. 331. . . . αἴθ' ὅσα εἶπε τελευτήσειεν ἅπαντα
Ἀλκίνους, τοῦ μέν κεν . . .
ἄσβεστον κλέος εἴη, κτλ.
ν xiii. 204. αἴθ' ὄφελον μεῖναι.
xviii. σ 401. αἴθ' ὄφελλ' ὁ ξεῖνος . . . ἀλλόθ' ὀλέσθαι.

§ 36. On the other hand, εἰ (αἴ) γὰρ, with the Opt., the favourite Odyssean turn, is well established in the Iliad (*except* Ψ and Ω) to introduce a wish: 6 clear cases in the Original (including the Menis) and 4 in the Additions, against 13 in the Odyssey (see Lange, i. (2), pp. 21 ff.).

For the purposes of comparison here I have left out those intermediate cases where the clause introduced by εἰ γάρ, though it still expresses a wish, has *also* the character of a protasis:—

Original Iliad—

Π xvi. 97. (*The Menis.*)
Σ xviii. 464.
X xxii. 346. (*The Menis.*)
Σ xviii. 272. (*The Menis.*)
X xxii. 454.
Δ iv. 189.

Additions—

H vii. 132.
Θ viii. 538.
N xiii. 825.
K x. 536.

Odyssey—

ρ xvii. 251, 513.
ο xv. 156.
σ xviii. 235, 366.
ζ vi. 244.
δ iv. 697.
ι ix. 523.
τ xix. 22.
φ xxi. 402.
γ iii. 205.
υ xx. 169.
θ viii. 339.

§ 37. Object-clauses with εἰ and Opt. "Odyssean" (H. G., § 314).

"Object-clauses with εἰ after verbs of *telling*, *knowing*, *seeing*, *thinking*, &c., as Od. xii. 112, ἔνισπες | εἴ πως . . . ὑπεκπροφύγοιμι. This is frequent in Odyssey, but extremely rare in Iliad" (Jebb, *op. cit.*, Appendix, Note 3).

The idiom, no doubt, is more frequent in the Odyssey, but to nothing like the extent suggested. The fact is that a *fully-developed* Object-clause of this kind is not really frequent in either poem.

There are only 3 unmistakable instances with the Opt. in the whole of the Odyssey, while there is 1 in the Iliad, and that 1 happens to be from the Menis itself, viz.—

Original Iliad—

Λ xi. 792. τίς δ' οἶδ' εἴ κέν οἱ σὺν δαίμονι θύμον ὀρίναις;

Odyssey—

μ xii. 112. εἰ δ' ἄγε δή μοι τοῦτο, θεά, νημερτὲς ἐνίσπες,
εἴ πως τὴν ὀλοὴν μὲν ὑπεκπρόφυγοιμι χάρυβδιν
τὴν δέ κ' ἀμυναίμην.
ξ xiv. 119. Ζεὺς . . . οἶδεν . . . εἴ κέ μιν ἀγγείλαιμι ἰδών.
σ xviii. 375. τῷ κε μ' ἴδοις, εἰ . . . προταμοίμην.

(Lange, *op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 115, gives 3 more—

xiii. ν 415.
xv. ο 304.
xxii. χ 381.

But in xiii. ν 415 Merry reads ἦ που ἔτ' εἴης: in xv. ο 304–305 he reads μετέειπε . . . ἦ μιν . . . φιλέοι: and xxii. χ 381 is classed by Monro

(quite rightly) among the cases after verbs of *seeking*—πάπτηνεν δ' Ὀδυσεὺς . . . εἴ τις ἐτ' ἀνδρῶν ζωὸς ὑποκλοπέοιτο.)

It is most misleading to group together all cases of εἰ with the Opt. after "verbs of *telling*, *knowing*, *seeing*, *thinking*" indiscriminately, as though they were all on the same footing.

The four cases quoted above are true Object-clauses. Here the structure is closely knit, and we can easily supply τοῦτο as an object to the governing verb (in app. to the εἰ-clause); while εἰ is to be translated "*whether*."

But in other cases the εἰ-clause is only loosely attached to the sentence, often retaining a final or quasi-final character: τοῦτο cannot be supplied as an object in strict app. to the εἰ-clause; and εἰ is naturally translated "*in the hope that*," "*in case that*," *e.g.*—

Odyssey—

v. ε 439. νῆχε παρὲξ, ἐς γαῖαν ὁρώμενος, εἴ που ἐφεύροι ἠίονας.

These cases should be classed with the use after verbs of *seeking*, *trying*, and *desiring*; and this use is common in the Iliad, *e.g.*—

Original Iliad—

Δ iv. 88. Πάνδαρον . . . διζημένη, εἴ που ἐφεύροι.
(See H. G., § 314.)

To this class the following 3 instances appear to me to belong:—

Odyssey—

(1) β ii. 351. οἶνον . . . ὃν σὺ φυλάσσεις.
κεῖνον οἰομένη τὸν κάμμορον, εἴ πόθεν ἔλθοι
διογενὴς Ὀδυσεύς.

The nurse is keeping the wine thinking of Odysseus, *in case he might* come back, *in the hope* that he might.

(2) ι ix. 317. λιπόμην κακὰ βυσσοδομεύων,
εἴ πως τισαίμην, κτλ.

This should be compared with—

P xvii. 104. (*Original Iliad*) ἐπιμνησαίμεθα χάρμης . . .
. . . εἴ πως ἐρυσαίμεθά νέκρον.

(3) ι ix. 421. αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ βούλευον ὅπως ὀχ' ἄριστα γένοιτο,
εἴ τιν' ἑταίροισιν θανάτου λύσιν . . .
εὑροίμην.
(Similar to the preceding.)

There remain a few intermediate cases, which, it may be admitted, appear to be more common in the Odyssey than the Iliad, *e.g.*—

Odyssey—

α i. 115. (Narrative) ὀσσόμενος πατέρ' ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ φρεσίν, εἴ ποθεν ἐλθὼν
μνηστήρων τῶν μὲν σκέδασιν κατὰ δώματα θείη.
υ xx. 224. ἀλλ' ἔτι τὸν δύστηνον οἴομαι, εἴ ποθεν . . . θείη.
ψ xxiii. 91. (Narrative) ἦστο κατὰ ὀρόων, ποτιδέγμενος εἴ τί μιν εἴποι
ἰφθίμη παράκοιτις.

It may be added that the allied uses of εἰ, c. *subj.* or *ind.*, for Object-clauses after verbs of *speaking*, *thinking*, and *seeing* is also established in the Original Iliad, but more common in the Odyssey. It should be noticed that all the following instances, and nearly all the preceding, are from speeches; and I believe that here again the prevalence of speech in the Odyssey has much to do with the increase in the statistics. For speech and dialogue give more opportunity for expressions of doubt and inquiry than pure narrative can do.

Original Iliad—

Ο xv. 403. τίς δ' οἶδ' . . . εἴ κεν . . . ὀρίνω;
Π xvi. 860. (*The Menis*) τίς δ' οἶδ' . . . εἴ κ' Ἀχιλεὺς . . . φθήῃ;
Α i. 83. (*The Menis*) σὺ δὲ φράσαι εἴ με σαώσεις.
Δ iv. 249. ὄφρ' ἴδητ' αἴ κ' ὔμμιν ὑπέρσχῃ χεῖρα Κρονίων.
Ε v. 183. σάφα δ' οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ θεός ἐστιν.
Ζ vi. 367. οὐ γάρ τ' οἶδ' εἰ ἔτι σφιν . . . ἴξομαι αὖτις,
ἦ ἤδη κτλ.
Χ xxii. 244. (*The Menis*) ἵνα εἴδομεν εἴ κεν Ἀχιλλεὺς,
νῶϊ κατακτείνας ἔναρα . . . φέρηται
. . . ἦ κεν . . . δαμήῃ.

7.

Odyssey—

λ xi. 458. (κατάλεξον)
εἴ που . . . ἀκούετε.
λ xi. 371. (κατάλεξον)
εἴ τινας . . . ἴδες.
ω xxiv. 259. (ὄφρ' εἰδῶ) . . . εἰ . . . ἱκόμεθ'.
ρ xvii. 510. (ἠδ' ἐρέωμαι) . . . εἰ . . . πέπυσται.
ο xv. 524. (Ζεὺς οἶδεν) . . . εἴ κε τελευτήσει.
β ii. 332. τίς οἶδ' εἴ κε . . . ἀπόληται.
γ iii. 216. τίς οἶδ' εἴ κε . . . ἀποτίσεται.
xix. τ 325. πῶς . . . δαήσεαι εἴ τι γυναίκων
ἀλλάων περίειμι . . .

i. α 207. (κατάλεξον) εἰ δὴ . . . παῖς εἶς.
viii. θ 133. ἐρώμεθα εἰ . . . οἶδε.
xiii. ν 328. εἰπέ μοι εἰ . . . ἱκάνω.
x. κ 192. φραζώμεθα . . . εἴ τις ἔτ' ἔσται. (*Cp.* Il. A i. 83.)
xvii. ρ 307. τόδε γ' οὐ σάφα οἶδα
εἰ δὴ καὶ τάχυς ἔσκε . . .
ἦ κτλ.
xviii. σ 265. τῷ οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ κεν μ' ἀνέσει θεὸς, ἦ κεν ἁλώω.

There are no instances of this "Odyssean" idiom in Il. ix., x., xxiii., or xxiv.

§ 38. τύνη, *thou*, the emphatic Nom., "in the Iliad only." (H. G., § 339.)

But only, it must be added, in the Original Iliad, *including* xxiv. The use in any case is rare, the word occurring not more than 5 times.

Original Iliad—

E v. 485. τύνη δ' ἔστηκας (Sarpedon to Hector).
M xii. 237. τύνη . . . κελεύεις (Hector to Polydamas).
Z vi. 262. ὡς τύνη κέκμηκας (Hecuba to Hector).
Π xvi. 64. τύνη . . . ἐμὰ τεύχεα δῦθι (Achilles to Patroclus).
Ω xxiv. 465. τύνη δ' εἰσελθὼν λαβὲ γούνατα Πηλεΐωνος (Hermes to Priam).

§ 39. μάν and μήν. "Iliadic" (H. G., § 342).

True for both words (and note that both occur in xxiii., and one of them in xxiv.).

(1) μάν (usually in negative sentences).

Odyssey, 2 instances—
λ xi. 344.
ρ xvii. 470.

Original Iliad, 11 instances—
Δ iv. 512.
M xii. 318.
O xv. 508.
P xvii. 41.
P xvii. 415.
P xvii. 448.
Ψ xxiii. 441.
X xxii. 304. (*The Menis.*)
O xv. 476.

Affirmative—

P xvii. 429. ἦ μὰν.
Π xvi. 14.

The Additions have 11 instances also. (None from Books ix. and x.)

(2) μὴν.

Original Iliad, 4 instances—

T xix. 45. (*Menis*) καὶ μὴν.
Ψ xxiii. 410. καὶ μὴν.
A i. 302. (*Menis*) εἰ δ' ἄγε μὴν.
Ω xxiv. 52. οὐ μὴν.

Additions, 3 instances—

H vii. 393.
B ii. 291.
I ix. 57.

Odyssey, 1 or 3 instances—

(xi. λ 582, 593.

But these are in the interpolation to the Νέκυια.)

xvi. π 440 (as in Ψ xxiii. 410).

§ 40. μὲν οὖν. (H. G., § 349.)

No doubt an "Odyssean" collocation. 5 times in the Odyssey and only once in the Iliad, and then *not* in xxiii. or xxiv., but in the

Additions—

ι ix. 550.

Odyssey—

δ iv. 780.
ν xiii. 122.
ο xv. 361.
χ xxii. 448.
ψ xxiii. 142.

§ 41. ἦ μὴ . . .; = *num*. (H. G., § 358 (*c*).)

Apparently also a purely "Odyssean" collocation. But Ebeling (like Monro) gives only 2 instances, so we cannot build much on this.

Odyssey—

ζ vi. 200.
ι ix. 405, 406.

Metre

§ 42. *Neglect of Position.*—"Neglect of Position is perceptibly commoner in the Odyssey than in the Iliad. . . . It will be seen too that some marked instances occur in Books xxiii. and xxiv. of the Iliad." (H. G., § 370 fin.)

I have no wish to deny that Neglect of Position is commoner in the Odyssey. But the "marked instances" in Ψ and Ω are surely no more marked than many in the Menis itself. The comparative table that follows for Ψ, Ω, and two books of the Menis—viz. i. A and xi. Λ (omitting the suspected portions)—will, I think, suffice to prove this. The instances are taken from La Roche (with some additions of my own), *Homerische Untersuchungen*, pp. 2–40. (See over leaf.)

§ 43. *Hiatus after short syllables.*

"Hiatus in the Bucolic Diæresis is commoner in the Odyssey than in the Iliad, in the proportion 2 : 1. Hiatus after the vowel ε is also comparatively rare in the Iliad: Knös reckons 22 instances (many of them doubtful) against 40 in the Odyssey. It is worth notice that in both these points Books xxiii. and xxiv. of the Iliad agree with the Odyssey." (H. G., § 382.)

(*a*) As regards Hiatus in the Bucolic Diæresis (*i.e.* after the fourth foot), the first point to note is that Monro, following Knös, only includes the cases of Hiatus after syllables that are *naturally short*. Now Knös was quite right to do this for his purpose (an investigation into the Digamma), but it is most misleading to take so narrow a basis on the present occasion. For Hiatus at the Bucolic Diæresis occurs after long syllables as well as after short, and since the long syllable is shortened *by* the Hiatus, the rhythmical effect of the two types is almost exactly the same. It seems irrational, therefore, when we are inquiring into possible changes of rhythm, to separate from one another such instances as the following:—

Iliad—

xxiii. Ψ 465–6. *φύγον | ἡνίᾰ, || οὐδ' ἐδυνάσθη εὖ σχεθέειν,*

and

xxiii. Ψ 622–3. *ἐσ | δύσεαι, || οὐδὲ πόδεσσι θεύσεαι,*

or

xxiii. Ψ 222. *ὀ | δύρεται, || ὀστέα καίων,*

and

xxiii. Ψ 224. *ὀ | δύρετο, || ὀστέα καίων.*

	Il. i. Α. *The Menis.*	xi. Λ. *The Menis.*	xxiii. Ψ.	xxiv. Ω.
κλ—	113. καὶ | γάρ ῥα Κλυτ | αιμνήστρης.			
βρ—			331. σῆμα βροτ | οῖο.	43. μῆλα βροτῶν.
			439. σεῖο βροτῶν.	*Cp.* 67, 464, 525, 533. But neglect of position before *βρότος* is a recognised exception; and note 676, | δὲ Βρισ | ηΐς.
δρ—	263. Πειρίθο | ὸν τε Δρύ | αντα τε.	69. τὰ δὲ | δράγματα.	361. μεμν | έψτο δρόμ | ους.	
θρ—		553. ἀΐσσ | ουσι θρασ | ειά | ων.	714. νῶτα θρασ | ειά | ων.	6. ποθέ | ων ἀδροτῆτα. (*Cp.* X xii. 363, *Menis*).
		571. δοῦρα θρασ | ειά | ων.		
κρ—	528. νεῦσε Κρον | ίων.	336. ἐτάν | υσσε Κρον | ίων.		611. ποίησε Κρονίων.
		119. ἰδρώ | ουσα κρατ | αιοῦ.		132. μοῖρα κραταίη. *Cp.* 209.
		406. ἐφόβ | ησε Κρον | ίων.		
πρ—	97. οὐδ' ὄγε | πρὶν.	403. εἶπε πρὸς | ὃν.		783. ἔπειτα πρὸ ἄστεος.
	609. Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸς | ὃν.	643. τέρπ | οντο πρὸς | ἀλλήλ | ους.		627. ἑτοῖμα προκείμενα.
	201. πτερό | εντα προσ | ηύδα.	815. πτερό | εντα προσ | ηύδα.	557. πτερόεντα προσηύδα.	517. πτερόεντα προσηύδα.
	539. Κρονί | ωνα προσ | ηύδα.	136. κλαί | ουτε προσ | αυδή | την.	*Cp.* 601, 625.	169. ἠδὲ προσηύδα.
τρ—		628. ἐπιπροί | ηλε τραπ | έζαν.	173. ἄν | ακτι τραπ | εζῆες.	625. ἐπένειμε τραπέζῃ.
		636. ἀποκινή | σασκε τραπ | έζης.	53. ἐπὶ | ἔργα τράπ | ωνται.	476. παρέκειτο τραπέζα.
			84. ὡς ἐτράφην.	324. ἔλ | κον τετρά | κυκλον.
χρ—			186. ῥοδό | εντι δὲ | χρῖεν.	(795. καὶ τά γε χρυσείην. Doubted by La Roche, who removes *γε*.)
σκ—		499. ποταμ | οῖο Σκα | μάνδρου.		
	7 in c. 550 lines.	13 in c. 700 lines.	11 in c. 810 lines.	17 in 804 lines (or 12, omitting the reptns. with *βροτός*, and the doubtful case).

Now the proportion of cases where a naturally short syllable precedes this Hiatus to the total number of instances is exceedingly low in both Iliad and Odyssey, not as much as 6 per cent. in either poem. For the whole Iliad it will be found there are about 34 cases in a total of 970 instances (round numbers); for the Odyssey, 47 in a total of 860 (round numbers). It is plain that to confine ourselves to the handful of instances where a short syllable precedes may enormously increase the appearance of proportionate difference between the poems. It is far safer to compare the complete totals for the Hiatus in both poems, "longs" and "shorts" included, and then note separately the average proportion of "shorts" to the total in each.

Now, the Iliad has about 15,700 lines, the Odyssey about 12,000. Therefore the Iliadic instances, all told, give us an average of about 6 per cent., the Odyssean an average of about 7. Increase, 1 per cent. The proportion of "shorts" to all the cases is:—in the Iliad, between 3 and 4 per cent.; in the Odyssey, between 5 and 6 per cent. Increase, 2 per cent. The real increase in both percentages is therefore very small, much smaller than a cursory examination of Monro's figures would suggest. And the general increase is explained at once by the preponderance of speech in the Odyssey. For an examination of the instances will show that the vast majority occur in speeches, and gives the clue to the real reason for the use of Hiatus at all in this part of the verse. It is to break the long smooth roll of the hexameter when a lively or abrupt effect is required, and thus it is constantly used to represent the broken manner of ordinary parlance, *e.g.* —

Iliad—

i. A 173. (*Menis*) φεῦγε μάλ', εἴ τοι θυμὸς ἐπέσσυται· | οὐδὲ σ' ἔγωγε λίσσομαι, κτλ.

(In the Catalogue, it may be noted, the rate sinks to 2 per cent.)

There remains the special increase shown throughout the Odyssey in the proportion of the short-syllabled type to the long. This is not explained by the preponderance of speech, so far as I can see, and it may certainly suggest a greater liking for "lighter endings" on the part of the poet. But that increase only amounts to 2 per cent.

Il. xxiii. and xxiv. (Ψ and Ω) show no increase in the general rate as against the Menis. In both Books the rate may be high as compared with the Iliad at large, being 8 per cent. in xxiii. (65 instances in c. 810 lines, according to my enumeration), and 7 per cent. in xxiv. (57 instances in 804 lines). But Book i. A of the Menis has also an average of 8 per cent. (43 instances in 550 lines), and so has Book xi. Λ (55 instances in under 700 lines, omitting the suspected portions).

As regards the short-syllabled cases, it is true that both Ψ and Ω have each 3 examples, but Book xi. Λ in the Menis has 4. The

references are: Ψ 195, 224, 465; Ω 72, 207, 508 (the last, apparently, is not given by Knös); Λ xi. 76, 84, 461, 791. If, therefore, a taste for lighter endings is held to be manifest in Ψ and Ω, it must be admitted to be also manifest in the Menis. But it seems to me the statistics are quite inadequate to support either conclusion.

(*b*) Hiatus after the vowel ε in general *is* commoner in the Odyssey, the figures being 40 to 22, as Monro states (Original, 14; Additions, 8), and 5 of the Iliadic instances are from xxiv. Ω. Ψ, however, has only 1 case, and at the beginning of ii. B we find a couple of instances in less than 100 lines (both from the Original, one from the Menis). The appearance of change in Ω may therefore be accidental.

I cannot understand why Monro should have suspected the Iliadic instances. It seems to me that the doubtful cases are in the Odyssean list (see below).

Hiatus after the vowel ε.

Original Iliad—

xxiv. Ω 207.	ἀνὴρ ὅ γε, οὐ σ' ἐλεήσει.	(Bucolic.)
xxiii. Ψ 71.	θάπτε με ὅττι τάχιστα.	
ii. B 8.	(*The Menis*) οὖλε Ὄνειρε.	
ii. B 90.	αἱ δέ τε ἔνθα.	
iii. Γ 46.	ἦ τοιόσδε ἐὼν.	
v. E 310.	ἀμφὶ δὲ ὄσσε.	
xvii. P 392.	ἄφαρ δέ τε ἱκμάς.	
xxiv. Ω 528.	ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων.	
v. E 12.	ἀποκρινθέντε ἐναντίω.	
xviii. Σ 385 (424).	τανύπεπλε, ἱκάνεις.	
xxiv. Ω 264.	ἐπιθεῖτε, ἵνα.	
xxiv. Ω 637.	ὅσσε ὕπο.	
xxiv. Ω 784.	. . . γε ἀγίνεον.	

Additions—

xx. Υ 152.	ἀμφὶ σέ, ἦιε Φοῖβε.	
ix. I 319.	ἐν δὲ ἰῇ.	
xix. T 288.	ζωὸν μέν σε ἔλειπον.	
ii. B 216.	αἴσχιστος δὲ ἀνήρ.	
ii. B 528.	τόσος γε ὅσος.	
vii. H 306.	διακρίνθεντε ὁ μὲν.	
xx. Υ 20.	ἐννοσιγαῖε, ἐμήν.	
v. E 542.	Κρήθωνά τε Ὀρσίλοχόν τε.	

Odyssey—

iii. γ 480.	ὄψα τε οἷα.	
vi. ζ 296.	ἄστυδε ἔλθωμεν.	
i. α 225.	τίς δὲ ὅμιλος.	
iii. γ 160.	οἵκαδε ἴέμενοι.	

? v. ε 135. ἠδὲ ἔφασκον.
(Probably ἠδέ "F" = Fε = ἑ. See H. G., § 391.)
vi. ζ 151. Ἀρτέμιδί σε ἐγώ γε.
vii. η 256. ἠδὲ ἔφασκε.
? viii. θ 524. ὅς τε ἑῆς.
(But the Digamma accounts for this.)
x. κ 68. πρὸς τοῖσί τε ὕπνος.
xvi. π 142. σύ γε ᾧχεο.
xxi. φ 211. ἐμὲ αὖτις.
xxi. φ 216. τε ἔσεσθον.
xxiv. ω 209. ἠδὲ ἴανον.
? xxiii. ψ 335. ἠδὲ ἔφασκε. (Probably ἠδέ F' ἔφασκε.)
ii. β 120. τε ἐυστέφανος.
viii. θ 361. ἀναιξάντε ὃ μὲν.
ix. ι 286. σὺν τοῖσδε ὑπέκφυγον.
x. κ 41. αὖτε ὁμὴν.
xi. λ 144. πῶς κέν με ἀναγνοίη.
? xii. μ 78. χεῖρές τε ἑείκοσι.
(Digamma possibly.)
xiii. ν 14. αὖτε ἀγειρόμενοι.
xv. ο 378. πιέμέν τε, ἔπειτα.
xvii. ρ 497. τούτων γε ἐύθρονον.
x. κ 404. πελάσσατε ὅπλα. (Bucolic.)
xv. ο 500. κερῶντό τε αἴθοπα. ,,
xvii. ρ 536. πινοῦσι τε αἴθοπα. ,,
xx. υ 24. ἐλίσσετο ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα. ,,
xxiv. ω 215. ἱερεύσατε ὅς τις. ,,
xix. τ 407. ἐγώγε ὀδυσσάμενος.
xx. υ 356. Ἐρεβόσδε ὑπὸ ζόφον.
xxi. φ 244. τὼ δμῶε ἴτην.
? xxiv. ω 63. δέκα μέν σε ὁμῶς.
(Interpolation *re* burial of Achilles.)
xxiv. ω 374. μέγεθός τε ἀμείνονα.
x. κ 425. ὀτρύνεσθε, ἐμοί.
i. α 60. Ὀλύμπιε. οὗ νύ τ' Ὀδυσσεὺς. (Bucolic.)
ii. β 57. πίνουσί τε αἴθοπα. ,,
iii. γ 293. αἰπεῖά τε εἰς. ,,
iv. δ 831. θεοῖό τε ἔκλυες. ,,
vii. η 6. ἐσθῆτά τε ἔσφερον. ,,
x. κ 403. ἐρύσσατε ἤπειρόνδε. ,,

§ 44. Digamma neglected in ἄρνα and ἔρδω. "Odyssean" (H. G., § 390).

Any argument from the traces of the Digamma must be quite inconclusive from the very nature of the facts. For it is plain that in any case "the Homeric observance of *F* is more or less inconstant" (Jebb, *op. cit.*, Note 4)—inconstant, we may add, throughout both Iliad and Odyssey (see *e.g.* the exceptions in the Menis to the observance of the *F* in ἴκω and ἑκάς, Il. i. Α 294, 21; xxii. Χ 15, 302).

A glance down the list given by Monro (H. G., § 390) will show that in almost all the words instances can be cited both for and against the *F* from both the poems. Some of the instances against may be removed by emendation, but this in itself is an arbitrary proceeding, and it will not avail in all cases.

Evidently it was possible for all the poets to observe or neglect the Digamma more or less at will, much as Chaucer could shift the accent from *coúntre* to *countré*.

And what, after all, is the actual evidence, whatever its worth, for a greater neglect of the Digamma in the Odyssey? Monro mentions only two words in his index: ἄρνα and ἔρδω. But he only gives *one* clear instance in the Iliad of hiatus before ἔρδω (Ξ xiv. 261), and this can be matched by one in the Odyssey (ο xv. 360). And hiatus is not always conclusive. It seems quite possible, therefore, that the Digamma was always liable to be neglected in ἔρδω.

For ἄρνα (ἄρνες, &c.) Monro gives 5 instances from the Iliad in support of the *F*. But he also gives 3 Iliadic instances against it, 1 of them from the Menis itself (Χ xxii. 263), and he notes that "the derivative ἀρνειός shows no trace of it." Indeed in 2 cases where ἄρνειος occurs in the Iliad—iii. Γ 197 and ii. Β 550, ταύρ | οισι καὶ | ἀρνεί | οις—the Digamma is impossible.

Characteristics of Il. Ψ xxiii. and Ω xxiv. (Supposed).

Most of these have been dealt with already. There remain four points:—

§ 45. Opt. in Iterative sense. (H. G., § 311.)

But Monro himself states that there is only *one* instance—Ω xxiv. 768.

§ 46. δέ of the Apodosis.

"It has been observed that when the Protasis is a Relative Clause, δέ of the Apodosis is generally found after a Demonstrative. The only exceptions to this rule are—

Iliad—

ix. I 510. ὅς δέ κ' ἀνήνηται . . .
λίσσονται δ' ἄρα ταί γε κτλ.

and

xxiii. Ψ 319–321. ἀλλ' ὅς μέν θ' ἵπποισι . . .
ἵπποι δὲ πλανόωνται."

(H. G., § 334, 4 fin.)

But Monro's own excellent note on the supposed instance from xxiii. (ed. of the Iliad, *ad loc.*) shows that it is very unsatisfactory to take this δέ as the δέ of the Apodosis at all, for the line in question "merely carries on the description of the unskilful driver." "Probably, therefore, the Apodosis is intentionally left to be understood from the context."

It cannot be said, therefore, that there is any similarity on this score between Il. ix. and xxiii.

§ 47. νῦν (short) in the temporal sense. (H. G., § 351, note.)

Nothing can be based on this, for there are only 2 instances in Homer, and neither are certain. The least doubtful is—

Il. K x. 105. ὅσα πού νυν ἐέλπεται,

when the temporal sense is clear, but there is some "slight MS. support" (Leaf) for νῦν ἔλπεται.

The second instance is from—

Il. Ψ xxiii. 485. δεῦρό νυν, ἢ τρίποδος, κτλ.

But the temporal sense is not obvious, and moreover there is a variant—

δεῦρό γε νῦν τρίποδος.

§ 48. οὐδέν.

"In the Iliad is often an adverb, 'not at all,' or a subst., 'nothing,' but in the Odyssey it is also an adj. (οὐδὲν ἔπος, 4, 350, &c.)." (Jebb, *op. cit.*, Note 3, iv.)

In the Index to Monro's first edition, H. G., οὐδέν was classed among the differences between the Iliad and the Odyssey, but this is withdrawn in the edition of 1891. The word, however, still has a place under the heading "Characteristics of Particular Books."

Now it appears that there is only *one* phrase in the Odyssey where a fair case can be made out for the adjvl. use of οὐδέν, and this occurs in the line quoted by Jebb as though it stood for a large class—

Odyssey—

δ iv. 350. (Repeated verbatim, ρ xvii. 140, 141.)
ἀλλὰ τὰ μέν μοι ἔειπε γέρων ἅλιος νημερτής,
τῶν οὐδέν τοι ἐγὼ κρύψω ἔπος οὐδ' ἐπικεύσω.

It is possible, though I admit less likely, that οὐδέν may be adverbial here (="*in no respect*"). But in any case, for this instance, such as it is, we have a parallel from the Original Iliad—

X xxii. 513. οὐδέν σοί γ' ὄφελος.

This too *may* be adverbial, as Monro suggests. (H. G., § 356.)

On the other hand, the adverbial use of οὐδέν is certainly characteristic both of the Odyssey and the Original Iliad (including the Menis *and* xxiv.), while it is absent from the Additions. There are 3 instances in the Original Iliad (excluding repetitions) and 4 in the Odyssey.

Original Iliad—

A i. 244. (*The Menis*) ὅ τ' ἄριστον Ἀχαιῶν οὐδὲν ἔτισας.
(Repeated A i. 412 and Π xvi. 274.)
X xxii. 332. (*Menis*) ἐμὲ δ' οὐδὲν ὀπίζεο νόσφιν ἑόντα.
Ω xxiv. 370. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐδέν σε ῥέξω κακά.
(The variant κακόν in some MSS. is plainly the "easier reading," and should not be accepted.)

On the other hand, x. has the only really certain instance in Homer of οὐδέν as an *adj.*—

x. K 216. τῇ μὲν κτέρας οὐδὲν ὁμοῖον.

Odyssey—

χ xxii. 370. σὲ δὲ νήπιοι οὐδὲν ἔτιον.
δ iv. 195. νεμεσσῶμαί γε μὲν οὐδέν.
(Repeated τ xix. 264.)
δ iv. 248. ὃς οὐδὲν τοῖος ἐήν.
υ xx. 366. νόος οὐδὲν ἀεικής.

And these 4 from the Odyssey ought to be increased to 5 if we include, as doubtless we should include (following Ebeling and Monro)—

ι ix. 287. (λ xi. 563) ὅ δέ μ' οὐδὲν ἀμείβετο.

οὐδέν occurs 3 times as a subst. in the Odyssey—

ι ix. 34. σ xviii. 130. χ xxii. 318.

(*v.* H. G., § 356.)

Finally, the only other Homeric instance of οὐδείς at all (in any case or gender) is to be found in the phrase, τὸ ὃν μένος οὐδενὶ εἴκων, and this occurs only in the Odyssey (λ xi. 515) and the Original Iliad (X xxii. 459).

Therefore the use of οὐδείς, so far from being different in the Original Iliad and in the Odyssey, is markedly similar.

Additional Notes

§ 49. (*a*) ὡς εἰ, c. Opt. (pure) in comparisons is found *only* in the Odyssey and the Original Iliad (4 times in each). (*v.* Lange, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. pp. 135 ff.)

Original Iliad—

Λ xi. 466. (*The Menis*) ἀμφί μ' Ὀδυσσῆος . . . ἵκετ' ἀϋτή
τῷ ἰκέλη ὡς εἴ ἑ βιφατο, κτλ.
Λ xi. 389. (*The Menis*) οὐκ ἀλέγω, ὡς εἴ με γυνὴ βάλοι.
X xxii. 410. τῷ . . . ἄρ' ἔην ἐναλίγκιον, ὡς εἰ
Ἴλιος . . . πυρὶ σμύχοιτο.
B ii. 780. οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἴσαν ὡς εἴ τε πυρὶ χθὼν πᾶσα νέμοιτο.

(On the other hand, I ix. 481 has ὡς εἰ, c. *subj.*)

Odyssey—

κ x. 416. ὣς ἔμεν ὡς εἰ πατρίδ' ἱκοίατο.
κ x. 419. ὣς ἐχάρημεν
ὡς εἴ τ' εἰς Ἰθάκην ἀφικοίμεθα.
ι ix. 314. ἄψ ἐπέθηχ' ὡς εἴ τε φαρέτρῃ πῶμ' ἐπιθείη.
ρ xvii. 366. πάντοσε χείρ' ὀρέγων, ὡς εἰ πτωχὸς πάλαι εἴη.

(*b*) εἰ δ' ἄγε εἰ δ' ἄγετε (where εἰ is probably purely interjectional; *cp.* Lat. *eia*).

There are only 2 instances of the phrase (sing. or plur.) in the Additions. But there are 9 in the Original, occurring both in the Menis *and* in xxiii., and 9 in the Odyssey, occurring both in the first and last Books. (Lange, *op. cit.*; Ebeling, εἰ, i. 1, *c.*; Monro, H. G., § 320.)

Original Iliad—

A i. 302, 524. (*The Menis.*)
Z vi. 376.
Π xvi. 667.
T xix. 108.
Ψ xxiii. 579.

P xvii. 685.
Ψ xxiii. 581.
X xxii. 381. (*The Menis*) εἰ δ' ἄγετ'.

The Additions—

Θ viii. 18.
I ix. 167.

(The instances of εἰ δέ without ἄγε or ἄγετε in ix. 46, 262, may be ellipses. In any case the *absence* of the verb puts these cases in a class by themselves.)

Odyssey—

α i. 271.
σ iv. 832.
ι ix. 37.
μ xii. 112.
φ xxi. 217.
ψ xxiii. 35.
ω xxiv. 336.
β ii. 178.
χ xxii. 391.

APPENDIX D

ODYSSEY XI. 235–327

THERE are several small points which, though slight in themselves, when taken together confirm the belief that this "Catalogue" is by the same hand as the rest of the Odyssey, and also, we may add, by the same hand as the Original Iliad. It looks as though the poet's fancy were playing round the same figures, the same kinsfolk, the same districts, which is just what we might expect when family history has become the living, brilliant thing we find it here. The point cannot be proved, but the following list of correspondences is certainly a long one for so short a passage (under 100 lines). (The shortness of the passage, by the way, would cut against any theory that assumes it was composed to be sung alone.) It will be noticed that in many cases the name occurs *only* in the Odyssey and the Original Iliad. The correspondences are the more noteworthy in view of the known discrepancies that appear in the legends when treated by different hands.

Line 237. *Aiolides.* This title recurs in Il. vi. 154 of Sisyphus, and nowhere else.

Line 259. *Aison* is the father of Jason who is mentioned in Od. xii. 72, and whose son Euneos appears in the Original Il. xxiii. 747, xxi. 41 (but also in the Additions vii. 469).

Line 259. *Amythaon* is the father of Melampus (Odyssey, *loc. cit.*) and Bias. And a Bias (of course of a younger generation) follows Nestor (Il. iv. 296). So does a Chromios (Il. iv. 295, Od. xi. 286).

Line 262. *Zethus* is only once referred to again, and that is in Od. xix. 99. (Amphion, however, is mentioned in the Additions, Il. xiii. 622.)

Line 263. The tale of *Thebes* is common property, but the Original Iliad seems to have a peculiar love for it. Diomede and Sthenelus are always thinking of their exploits there, and of their fathers' efforts, *e.g.* Il. iv. 378 ff. And in Il. xxiii. 679 we find the only other Homeric mention of Œdipus by name (Od. xi. 271).

Line 266. *Heracles*, too, is common property; but the tale of his birth is told with much detail in Il. xix. 99 ff. (But it is also alluded to in the Additions xiv. 323. And the name of Amphitryon recurs in Il. v. 392.)

Line 283. *Iasides.* This patronymic only recurs in Od. xvii. 443.

Line 290. *Iphicles.* The name recurs in Il. xxiii. 636, where Nestor

tells how he could outrun him in their youth (but also in the Additions, xiii. 698, and the Catalogue ii. 705.)

Line 290. *Phylace.* Od. xv. 236. (But also in the Additions xiii. 696, repeated xv. 335, and in the Catalogue ii. 695, 700.)

Line 298. *Tyndareos.* Only in the Od. xxiv. 199 ("the second Nekuia"), in a scene designed to recall this one.

Line 300. *Castor* and *Polydeukes.* Only in Il. iii. 237. For the accuracy of the correspondence here (which has been doubted) see above, Chapter x. p. 113.

Line 310. *Orion.* Again in Od. v. 121, where he is spoken of as beloved by the Dawn, an allusion which harmonises both with the mention of his beauty here (and not with the description of him as πελώριος in the interpolation, l. 572) and with the conception of him in the Original Iliad as half star, half hunter (Il. xxii. 29; the Menis, Il. xviii. 458, 486. *Cp.* Od. v. 274. The only other references).

Line 316. *Pelion.* Except for the Catalogue (Il. ii. 744, 756) this mountain is only mentioned again twice, and each time in the Original Iliad (Il. xvi. 144, and xix. 391).

Line 323. *Crete* is common property, but the Odyssey is particularly fond of it. (Odysseus almost always brings it into his romances.)

And *Ariadne* is only mentioned again in the Original Iliad xviii. 592.

Line 323. *Athens.* (The earthly home of Odysseus' guardian goddess.) The name recurs in Od. iii. 278, 307; vii. 80. Except for the Catalogue (Il. ii. 546, 549) the name of the city is not found in the Iliad; but Menestheus, her king, plays a gallant part in Il. xii.; and in iv. 325 ff. he and his men are found side by side with *Odysseus.*

Line 325. *Dionysus.* Il. vi. 135. (But also in the Additions xiv. 325, and in the interpolation to the second Nekuia in the Od. xxiv. 74.)

[On the other hand, l. 305, *Aloeus* and the young giants, *Otus* and *Ephialtes*, recur in the Additions to the Iliad, and only there (Il. v. 385 ff.).]

There are also some points of diction:—

Line 297. Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.

"And the purpose of Zeus began to be fulfilled" (Il. i. 5, the Menis).

Line 311. ἐννέωροι.

"Nine years old," usually implying "in the first prime" (Od. x. 19, 390; xix. 179. Il. xviii. 301; *v.* Leaf, *ad loc.*). Nowhere else in Homer.

Line 322. ὀλοόφρων, of persons in rather a good sense "terrible-minded." Again in Od. i. 52; xx. 37.

(In the Original Iliad it occurs *once* of a boar (xvii. 21), to whom Menelaus is compared.)

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